



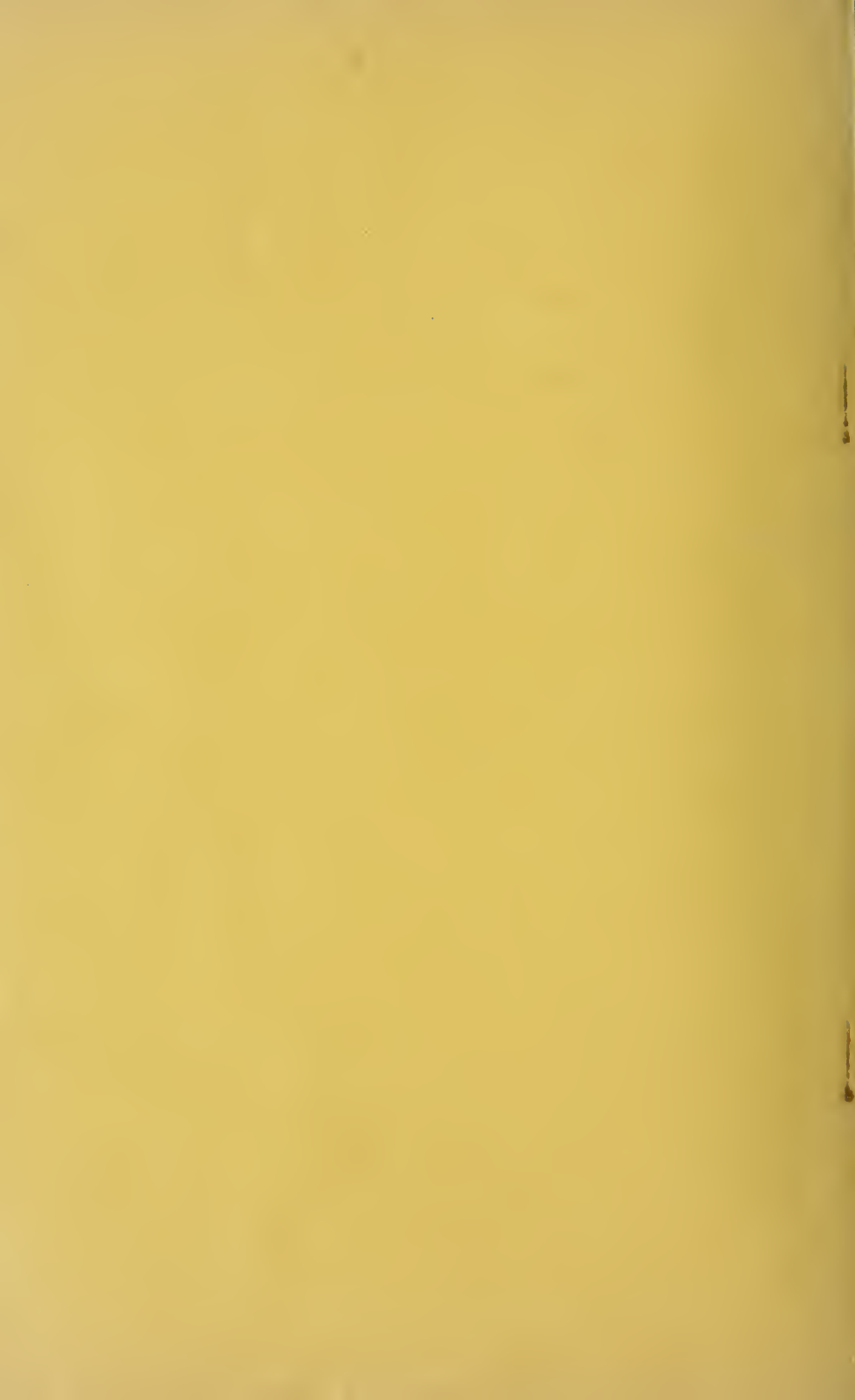
FURTHER NOTES  
ON THE  
LITERATURE OF THE HURUFIS  
AND THEIR CONNECTION WITH THE  
BEKTASHI ORDER OF DERVISHES.

BY  
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## XXII.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE LITERATURE OF THE  
HURUFIS AND THEIR CONNECTION WITH THE  
BEKTASHI ORDER OF DERVISHES.

By EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B., F.B.A., M.R.A.S.

NINE years ago, in the *J.R.A.S.* for January, 1898, pp. 61-94, I published an article entitled *Some Notes on the Literature and Doctrines of the Ḥurúfī Sect.* The materials for that article were chiefly derived from a manuscript of the *Jāvidān-i-Kabīr* (Ee. 1. 27) in the Cambridge University Library, and two manuscripts (*Anciens Fonds Persan*, 24, and *Supplément Persan*, 107) in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, of which the former contained (1) the *Isticā-nāma* of the Amīr Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, of Astarābād, composed shortly after A.H. 828 (= A.D. 1425), (2) an allegorical *mathnawī* poem, and (3) a glossary of the dialect words used in the *Jāvidān-i-Kabīr*; while the latter contained another Ḥurúfī treatise which appeared to be that entitled the *Maḥabbat-nāma*. Thanks to information contributed by the late Mr. E. J. W. Gibb, I was also able to prove that the sect, which appears not to have taken root in Persia, the land of its birth, spread into Turkey, where it caused some commotion at several different periods, and suffered several fierce persecutions, amongst the victims of which (in A.H. 820 = A.D. 1417-18) was the bilingual poet Nesīmī, whose *Dīwān* is not uncommon in manuscript, and was printed at the *Akhtar* Press in Constantinople in A.H. 1298 (= A.D. 1881). I was not, however, aware at that time how considerable was the extent of the Ḥurúfī literature still extant, nor did I know that the Ḥurúfī doctrines are still

professed and taught amongst the members of the Bektáshí Order of Dervishes.

The connection of the Hurúfís with the Bektáshís first became known to me in the following manner. About three years after the publication of the article to which I have referred above, a certain dealer in Oriental manuscripts in London, a native of Baghdad, from whom I had already purchased a considerable number of MSS., invited me to furnish him with a list of my desiderata, in order that he might submit the same to his correspondents in the East. I did so, and mentioned in my list the *Jávidán-náma* or any other Hurúfí books. Shortly afterwards (in Feb.-March, 1901) he forwarded to me a parcel of manuscripts in which was included a copy of this work (now in the British Museum, marked Or. 5,957) besides some other books of the sect in question. The prices set on these MSS. were high, but some half-dozen were secured by the Cambridge University Library, while another half-dozen were purchased by the British Museum, and now bear the class-marks Or. 5,957 - Or. 5,961.

The comparatively high prices realised by these MSS. seem to have stimulated the search for other similar ones, and gradually, as the supply not only continued but increased, it became clear that these Hurúfí books existed in considerable quantities, and were still widely read and copied in the East, especially in Turkey. Prices consequently fell rapidly, and latterly few of these MSS. have fetched more than £2 or £3 in the limited market where the demand for them existed. Nor was it long before we discovered that it was from the Bektáshí dervishes that they were, in almost all cases, directly or indirectly derived, and that it was amongst the members of this Order that the Hurúfí doctrines flourish at the present day.

With this dervish order all who have visited Constantinople or other parts of the Turkish Empire with open eyes are familiar. Towards Christians, and even Christian missionaries, they commonly show an unusual friendliness, but amongst the Muhammadans they are regarded with

a much more unfavourable eye than the Mevlevís, Rufá'ís, Qádirís, and other dervish orders. The reason of their ill repute I had hitherto been unable to ascertain: it was generally asserted that they shared the Shí'ite views of the Persians, but this did not explain why they were more disliked by the orthodox Sunní Turks than were the heterodox Persians with whom they were supposed to be in sympathy. Moreover, Hájji Bektásh, the founder of the order, though of Persian origin, enjoyed high favour with the Ottoman Sultan in his day, lived and died in the odour of sanctity, and is chiefly known in history as having conferred his blessing on the Janissary corps when it was first formed; a blessing in memory of which the Janissaries wore on their head-dresses a white band, supposed to represent the sleeve of the saint as it rested in blessing on the head of their leader. Hájji Bektásh is said by Mu'allim Nájí (*Asámi*, p. 106) to have died in A.H. 738 (= A.D. 1337-8), which date, curiously enough, coincides with the sum of the numerical values of the letters composing the word *Bektáshíyya* (بكتاشیه) by which the order which he founded is known. Fadlu'lláh the Húrúfí was born two years later, in A.H. 740.

The matter is explained and the connection further established in the only printed book included amongst 46 Húrúfí works acquired by the British Museum, the Cambridge University Library, and myself since 1901. This book, published in A.H. 1291 (= A.D. 1874-5), is entitled *Káshifu'l-Asrár u Dáfi'u'l-Ashrár* ("The Revealer of Mysteries and the Refuter of Reprobates"), and was composed by one of the orthodox 'Ulamá named Isháq Efendi in denunciation of the Bektáshís. For the most part it consists of a detailed refutation of a Húrúfí work of 32 chapters (according to the number of the letters in the Perso-Arabian alphabet) entitled '*Ishq-náma*' ("The Book of Love") by 'Izzu'd-Dín Firishtazáda. Of this book the Bektáshís had three years previously (in A.H. 1288 = A.D. 1871-2) ventured to publish a lithographed edition, of which also I possess a copy. In the preface of his refutation Isháq Efendi speaks (p. 2) as follows:—

“Be it known that of all those sects which busy themselves with misleading the people of Islám, the Bektáshís are the chief offenders, and that although it is obvious both from their words and deeds that they are not of the Muslims, in the year A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871-2) they made this fact patent to all. The books which these persons call *Jávidán* are six in number, one of which was composed by their original misleader, Faḍlu’lláh the Hurúfi, while the other five are the works of his *Khalīfas* (Vicars). And since in these five books their heresies and blasphemies are very evident, they are wont to teach and study them secretly amongst themselves; but as Firishta-záda in his *Jávidán*, entitled *‘Ishq-náma* (“The Book of Love”), did in some measure conceal his blasphemies, and since in the above-mentioned year A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871-2) they [i.e. the Bektáshís] made so bold as to print and circulate this work, it has unquestionably become a matter of urgent necessity that a treatise should be written to make known to the faithful their true character, and the blasphemous nature of the doctrines contained in their books. Therefore, relying on God, I have ventured to write such a treatise, comprising three chapters, as follows:—

“*Chapter i*:—Setting forth the origin of Faḍl[u’lláh] the Hurúfi, and the principles and laws of certain of the Bektáshís.

“*Chapter ii*:—Setting forth the blasphemies of Firishta-záda’s *Jávidán*.

“*Chapter iii*:—Setting forth the blasphemies of the other *Jávidáns*.”

The author next speaks briefly of the Carmathians (*al-Qarámīṭa*), whom he regards as the successors of the *Ibáhiyya*, or communists (meaning probably the Mazdakites), and the progenitors of the Hurúfis. Thence he passes to Faḍlu’lláh, “who,” says he, “secretly busied himself in teaching his blasphemies, and raised up for himself nine *Khalīfas* or Vicars.” “After a while,” he continues further on, “the evil doctrines of these heretics became known amongst men, and the son of Tímúr [*i-Lang*, i.e. Tamerlane]



caused Faḍl the Ḥurúfí to be put to death, after which he tied a rope to his legs, dragged him publicly through the streets and *bázárs*, and removed his foul existence from this nether world."

After the death of the founder of the Ḥurúfí sect, according to Isháq Efendi, "his *Khalīfas*, or Vicars, agreed to disperse themselves through the lands of the Muslims," and he who bore the title of *al-ʿAlī al-ʿAlā* ("the High, the Supreme") came to the monastery of Ḥájji Bektásh in Anatolia, and there lived in seclusion, teaching the *Jávidán* to the inmates of the monastery, and assuring them that it represented the teaching of Ḥájji Bektásh the Saint (*vali*). "The inmates of the monastery," continues Isháq Efendi, "being ignorant and foolish, accepted the *Jávidán*, notwithstanding that its obvious purport was the denial of all divine obligations and the pandering to the lusts of the flesh; named it 'the Secret'; and enjoined the utmost secrecy concerning it, to such a degree that if anyone enters their order and afterwards reveals 'the Secret' they consider his life forfeit. By this their so-called 'Secret' is meant certain blasphemous passages in the *Jávidán*, hinted at and alluded to by detached letters like *alif* (ا), *waw* (و), *jīm* (ج), and *zayn* (ز), for the understanding of which symbols they have composed a tract entitled *Miftáhu'l-Ḥayát* ('The Key of Life'). This they name 'the Secret'; and should one possess it, he understands the *Jávidán*, which without it is incomprehensible. They were thus careful to conceal their secret for fear lest the doctors of religion should obtain some inkling of its nature, and should suppress it; and thus, since A.H. 800 (= A.D. 1397-8), have they succeeded in secretly seducing many.

"But in A.H. 1240 (= A.D. 1824-5), during the reign of his late Majesty Sultán Maḥmúd Khán-i-Ghází (whose abode is now in Paradise), their blasphemies became in some degree apparent, so that he commanded their elders (*ulú*), who sold false miracles to the ignorant, to be put to death, their monasteries to be levelled with the ground, and their lands and part of their allowances to be made over to the

Naqsh-bandí order of dervishes. So, in the course of the next thirty or forty years they continued, some in the guise of shaykhs and dervishes of the Sa'dí, some of the Rufá'í, some of the Qádirí, and some of the Naqshbandí orders, each in his own chosen retreat, secretly to teach their blasphemies and heresies, until finally, in the year A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871-2), they fully disclosed their false doctrines, to such a degree that Firishta-záda dared to print and publish amongst the Muslims his *Jávidán*."

The author next enumerates their chief heresies and the wiles whereby they seek to mislead simple-minded Muslims. He says that they believe in the divinity of Faḍlu'lláh, and regard the Deity as a power which manifested itself through Moses, Jesus, and all the great Prophets, and revealed the Scriptures which they brought, though it did not reveal their true allegorical meaning until it appeared in person as Faḍlu'lláh in the year A.H. 800 (= A.D. 1397-8) at Astarábád in Persia, bringing the *Jávidán*, which contained the true explanation of all the revealed books which had preceded it. This being their actual belief, they pretend to be Shí'ites and devoted admirers of the Prophetic Household, declaring love of the Prophet's family to be the root of the matter, and the sins of him who loves 'Alí to be venial. Thus they accustom their neophytes to neglect prayer and fasting and to indulge in forbidden practices, like the drinking of wine, and only "when they are well assured of their infidelity," to quote our author's words, "do they teach them that blasphemous heresy which they call 'the Secret,' since in fact there is in the *Jávidáns* no mention of the name of anyone connected with the Holy Family; only, in order to attract the Shí'ites, they say that He who appeared in the form of 'Alí was again Faḍl the Hurúfí."

They have also, according to Ishaq Efendi, a rule or custom which they call "the sixteen girdles," each girdle representing allegiance to one of the Prophets. He who girds himself with one of these girdles takes the Prophet represented by that girdle as his special patron, and professes to observe his law, but in fact only observes some one point



which he regards as typical of that Prophet. They also believe in the three Persons of the Christian Trinity, and credit their own *bábás* or elders with miraculous powers, but the neophytes of the order are ignorant of these things, and merely believe themselves to be Shí'ites.

I should like, did space permit, to quote at greater length from this interesting book, but I have, I think, said enough to prove beyond all doubt the intimate connection which exists between the Ḥurúfís and the Bektáshís. It is curious that the sect seems to have disappeared from Persia, the land of its birth, while in Turkey its main stronghold is, as I am informed by Mr. Andrew Ryan, British Vice-Consul at Constantinople, in Albania. Hence, while the older Ḥurúfí literature is chiefly in Persian, the later literature is almost entirely in Turkish. In Arabic there appears to be but little, save a version (apparently abridged) of Firishtá-záda's '*Ishq-náma*, of which a manuscript (labelled كتاب الفضل الابي) was acquired by the Cambridge University Library in December last.

Of the doctrines of the Ḥurúfís I have not space to speak at length here; I have discussed them in outline in my article in the *J.R.A.S.* for January, 1898, pp. 69-89, and an admirable sketch of these is given by the late Mr. E. J. W. Gibb in vol. i of his *History of Ottoman Poetry*, pp. 338-342, 353-355, 373 *et seqq.* Nor are the materials required for a full elucidation of these doctrines at present sufficiently accessible, though in a short time M. Clément Huart will publish in the Gibb Memorial Series a volume of Persian Ḥurúfí texts with French translations, to which I hope to add a short Introduction or Appendix. Amongst the texts which M. Huart proposes to publish are the *Hidáyat-náma*, the *Maḥram-náma*, the *Niháyat-náma*, and other treatises, as well as a list of the abbreviations used by the Ḥurúfís, and the glossary of the dialect-words employed in the *Jávidán-i-Kabir* and other Ḥurúfí writings.

I regret that at present I have been unable to find any reference to the execution of Faḍlu'lláh, or the causes which led to it, in any of the chronicles of the reign of Tímúr-i-Lang,

in which it occurred. Nor are the chief dates given altogether satisfactory, for while A.H. 804 (= A.D. 1401-2) is mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar as the date of Faḍlu'lláh's death, and, more generally, A.H. 800 (= A.D. 1397-8) by Ishâq Efendi as the date when the Hurúfî doctrines began to be promulgated, we find on the fly-leaf of one of the Hurúfî MSS. in the British Museum (Or. 6,381), dated A.H. 1163 (= A.D. 1750), the following series of dates:—

- (1) Birth of Faḍlu'lláh, A.H. 740 (= A.D. 1339-40).
- (2) Manifestation, or disclosure, of knowledge, A.H. 788 (= A.D. 1386-7).
- (3) Martyrdom of Faḍlu'lláh, A.H. 796 (= A.D. 1393-4).
- (4) Age of Faḍlu'lláh at the time of his death, 56 years.
- (5) Death of his *Khalîfa*, or Vicar, entitled *Hadrat-i 'Aliyyi A'la*, A.H. 822 (= A.D. 1419).
- (6) Death of Anti-Christ (*Dajjál*), who is "Márán-sháh" (i.e. Tímúr's son, Míránsháh, whose name the Hurúfis have thus changed to make it mean "the Serpent-King"), A.H. 803 (= A.D. 1400-1).

Lastly, the following verse, inscribed by the side of the above dates, would seem to imply that Faḍlu'lláh performed the pilgrimage to Mecca in A.H. 775 (= 1373-4):—

از ذال گذشته عین وکی چون ' از کعبه قدم نهاد بیرون

"*Ayn* (ع = 70) and *Há* (ه = 5) had passed from *Dhul* (ذ = 700) when he [i.e. Faḍlu'lláh] set his foot outside the Ka'ba."

In conclusion, I cannot refrain from quoting a very curious and interesting document which I found on f. 24 of the British Museum MS. Or. 6,380, and which appears to be, having regard both to the superscription and the contents, the last testament of Faḍlu'lláh, written on a piece of paper and placed by him between the leaves of the *Maḥabbat-náma-i-Iláhi*. This document runs as follows:—

### وصیّت نامه

سواد خطّ مبارک حَ قَ چَ هَ [یعنی حضرت فضل جَلِّ شأنه]  
بر قطعه کاغذ نوشته در میان اوراق محبّت نامه الهی بود قطع  
یکت دل از شوق سخنها دارم قاصدی نیست که در پیمش تو  
تقریر کند، خدا بر حال این فقیر گواہ است که بغیر از تفرقه اطفال  
و مفارقت اصحاب هیچ نگرانی نمانده است، مسئله چند که  
نگران بود تسلیم آن عزیز و عزیزان کرده است، اگر حق تعالی  
بجمیع نیک خوانسته باشد برسد باقی تا چه خواهد کرد، یا رب  
یا رب شبهای من

در همه عمرم مرا یکت دوست در شروان نمود (f. 24b)  
دوست کی باشد کجا ای کاش بودی آشنا  
من حسین وقت و نا اهلان یزید و شمر من  
روز گارم جمله عاشورا و شروان کربلا

بر آن عزیزان پوشیده نیست که این فقیر را از جهت دین نگرانی  
نمانده است سلام و دعای ما درین آخر باصحاب و یاران و دوستان  
برسانند و نوع سازند که این قاعده‌ها و این ابیات و این حقایق  
ببایشان برسد، روز چند بگوشه نا شناخت فرو کش کنند و آنرا  
ضبط بکنند و این آئین نواست، آن فرزندان و ماندگان و آزادگان را  
از ما به پرسند والسلام

## TRANSLATION.

## "TESTAMENT.

("Copy of the Blessed Writing of H. F. J. H. [= HADIRAT-I-FADLU'LLÁH, JALLA SHA'NUHU]<sup>1</sup> written on a fragment of paper and placed amongst the leaves of the *Maḥabbat-náma*.)

"I have a whole heart [filled] with eagerness for speech, but there is no messenger to declare to thee [what I would say]. God is witness of the condition of this poor unfortunate that, save parting from [his] children and separation from [his] friends, no expectation is left. [The settlement of] sundry matters which were pending he leaves to that dear friend and other dear friends. If God Almighty desires good for all, it will come: for the rest [we must wait and see] what He will do. O Lord, O Lord of my nights!

*In the town of Shirwán all my life not a single friend  
was mine:*

*Who and where is a friend? Alas! not c'en an acquaintance  
I saw!*

*The Husayn of the Age am I, and each worthless foe a Shímr  
and Yazíd,*

*My life is a day of mourning, and Shirwán my Kerbelá.*

It is not hidden from those dear friends that no expectation remains to this poor unfortunate in the matter of religion. Convey my salutations and prayers at this last moment to my companions and friends and dear ones, and act in such manner that these rules [of conduct], verses and truths, may reach them. Let them be laid away for a few days in some secret corner, and let them be well kept. This is the New Ordinance. Let my son enquire on our part after those who are left and the noble ones. Farewell."

<sup>1</sup> The use of the expression *jalla sha'nuhu*, 'glorious in His state,' after the name of a man, is, of course, rank blasphemy in the eyes of the orthodox, but the Hurúfis, who regard Fadlu'lláh as an Incarnation of the Deity, habitually place it after his name, generally in the abbreviated form here employed.

This letter, obscure as it is in certain passages, has nevertheless a human and personal note rarely to be found in the misty utterances of the Hurúfis. To us it seems strange that in Asia men should have been, nay, and still are, so ready to die for subtleties so intangible and ideas so bizarre as those which constitute the doctrines of the Hurúfis and other similar sects, and we are apt to think that some great ethical or eschatological idea must underlie them. But this, in my opinion, is an error; in Asia, especially in Persia, men lay down their lives for a new Avatar and a number fraught with mystical significance, like the numbers 7, 12, 14, or 19, rather than for some social or ethical ideal. In the West religion is chiefly concerned with conduct, but in the East with knowledge.

## I. BRITISH MUSEUM.

(1) OR. 5,957 (*Persian and dialect of Astarábád*).

The *Jávidán-i-Kabir* of Faḍlu'lláh the Hurúfí (ff. 4<sup>b</sup>–481<sup>a</sup>), followed by another tract (ff. 481<sup>b</sup>–483<sup>b</sup>), and (f. 484<sup>b</sup>) a short poem explaining why the word ابدا is repeated six times at the beginning of the *Jávidán-i-Kabir*. At the end of the volume (ff. 485<sup>a</sup>–490<sup>a</sup>) is a vocabulary of the dialect words used in the *Jávidán*, containing the explanation of some 770 words, and entitled لغت استرآبادی ("Glossary of the Astarábádí dialect"). Ff. 490 of 22·5 × 12·4 c. Transcribed by the Mu'adhdhin (Mu'ezzin) Darwísh 'Ísá b. Kamálu'd-Dín Khwája of ارگری کسری in A.H. 1196 (= A.D. 1782). Bought 30, iii, 1901.

(2) OR. 5,957\* (*Persian*).

*Miftáh-i-Hurúf-i-Jávidán*, a key to the abbreviations and signs employed in the *Jávidán*, of which some 150 are explained. Ff. 3 (ff. 1<sup>b</sup>–3<sup>b</sup> written on). Acquired with the above MS., within the covers of which it was originally placed.



(3) OR. 5,958 (*Persian*).

A tract with no proper title, described as رسالة فضل حروف, apparently by Faḍlu'llāh, beginning:—

ذات نطق كه وجود سى كلمه حضرت فضل حقيق است چ د  
مجموع وجود است الخ

Transcribed by Darwīsh Ḥusayn Aḥmad in A.H. 1155 (= A.D. 1742-3).

(4) OR. 5,959 (*Persian*).

The *Ādam-nāma*, transcribed in a fine, bold *ta'liq* hand, by Darwīsh 'Alī-qulī, in Rabī' ii, A.H. 987 (= June, A.D. 1579), and purchased by the Museum 30, iii, 1901. Ff. 289 of 25·3 × 17 c. and 16 lines; rubrications.

(5) OR. 5,960 (*Turkish*).

The *'Ishq-nāma* of Firishta-zāda ('Abdu'l-Majīd b. Firishta 'Izzu'd-Dīn), comprising 32 chapters, preceded by a table of contents (ff. 1<sup>b</sup>-2<sup>a</sup>), and beginning:—

ف حقیقه امیر المؤمنین علی کرم الله وجهه، وقد اختصر  
الأبواب على الاثنين والثلاثين بعدد اثنا وثلاثين كلمة تاممة الیهة أزلية  
و ابدية، و علم آدم الاسماء كلها،

This work was composed in A.H. 833 (= A.D. 1429-30). This copy was completed on Ramaḍān 20, A.H. 1276 (= April 12, A.D. 1860). Ff. 72 of 23·7 × 15·9 c. and 25 lines.

(6) OR. 5,961 (*Turkish*).

A collection of five Hurufī works, dated A.H. 1274 (= A.D. 1857-8), and comprising ff. 117 of 16·2 × 10·5 c. It was bought 30, iii, 1901, and contains:—

- (1) *Risála-i-Nuqtatu'l-Bayán* (on the "Point of Explanation"), ff. 1-33, beginning:—

قوله تعالى سُرِّيمَ آياتنا في الآفاق وفي أنفسهم حتى يتبين لهم  
أنَّ الحقَّ، اى طالب بيل و آگاد اول كه . . . الخ

- (2) *Ákhirat-náma* of Firishta-záda (ff. 34<sup>b</sup>-57<sup>a</sup>), beginning:—

الحمد لله . . . الخ، اما بعد، بو فقير عبد المجيد بن فرشته  
عز الدين . . . آخرت نامه بو كتابى تحرير ايلدى

- (3) Commentary on a *qaṣida* by Abdál Bába (ff. 58<sup>b</sup>-81<sup>b</sup>), beginning:—

بالتَّوَد ايدم اوَّلًا سودم كه آشكار اولام  
تا بن دخى آدم گبى بر دم جهان بابا اولام

- (4) Tract by Mithálí (ff. 82<sup>b</sup>-86<sup>b</sup>), beginning:—

ق بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه نستعين، حضرت ق خدا  
ذات بى همتا عرشنامه الهى و تأويل كلام نا متفاهيمسندد كه جواهر  
دُر مكنون و علم لدنن

اول سبع المثانى اى حكيم، هست بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
ديوب مناسبه بو بيتى نظم بمور مشلردر بن حقير و فقير پُر كُناه  
بندد كمترين فضل الله اعنى مثالى خاكپاى اهل الله . . . الخ

- (5) A Turkish poem in 32 *maqálas* and a *tatimma*, beginning:—

سطر بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، آدم و حوا در اى ديور رحيم  
يعنى بسم التيند اسْمَه آدمى، ق حق سلطان هر دو عالمى

In this doctrinal poem, which fills the remainder of the MS., the doctrines of the Hurúfis are pretty clearly set forth.

(7) OR. 6,290 (*Turk.-Pers.*).

A fine old copy of the *Diwán of Nesîmî*, transcribed in Ramaḍán, A.H. 974 (= March-April, A.D. 1567), by Darwîsh Muṣṭafá Ná-Murád, and purchased 6, xii, 1901. Ff. 17 of  $19.8 \times 12.2$  c., written in a good *ta'liq* and entitled:—

فزیلیات نسیمی البغدادی [الملقب بعماد الدین] من اصحاب  
فضل فیاض الحروف المقتول بسيف الشرع فی حدّ سنه ٩٧٠ هـ کذا ذکر  
فی کشف الظنون

(8) OR. 6,293 (*Persian*).

The '*Arsh-nāma*, a *mathnawî* poem of about 1,120 *bayts*, transcribed in Muḥarram, A.H. 1274 (= Aug.-Sept., A.D. 1857), and purchased 6, xii, 1901. Begins:—

بئى بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ' آدم خاکست ای دیو رجیم  
آدم خاکی که جان عالمست ' پیمش ذات حق وی اسم اعظمست

(9) OR. 6,294 (*Turkish*).

The *Diwán of 'Arshî Dedé*, transcribed in Rajab, A.H. 1289 (= Sept., A.D. 1872), by Sayyid Maḥmúd Bábá, and purchased 6, xii, 1901. Ff. 157 of  $23 \times 14.2$  c. and 19 lines. Begins:—

باى بسم الله ايله قرآنه ایتدم ابتدا  
قاف و یا ودالی قیلدم حرف واحد ده ادا

The copyist further describes himself as:—

ساکن بدرگاد شهید بگ قرب رومیلى حصارى حافظ احمد  
السعدا

(10) OR. 6,295 (*Turk.-Pers.*).

A collection of five tracts, all, apparently, by Shaykh 'Abdu'lláh Ṣalāḥî (or Ṣalāḥu'd-Dîn), transcribed at Sofia

in Jumáda ii, A.H. 1238 (= Feb.-March, A.D. 1823), purchased 6, xii, 1901, and containing:—

نطق شریف حضرت مصری شرح صلاحی عبد الله افندی (1)  
قدس سرهما

This fills ff. 1-32, and begins:—

ایکی قاشک آردسده چکدی خط استوا  
علم الاسماهی تعلیم ایتدی اول خطدن خدا

Ends on f. 32<sup>a</sup> thus:—

بر زمان مصری لسانندن بو نطق نظم ایدن  
شمدی و مزیننی صلاحیدن ینه شرح ایلدی

The copyist's name is given as Aḥmad Fá'iz, and the date of transcription as A.H. 1231 (= A.D. 1816).

(2) A prose tract in Turkish (ff. 33-36), without title.

(3) A Turkish tract (ff. 37-46) in mixed prose and verse.

(4) On f. 47<sup>a</sup>. The figure of the Hurúfí man, entitled:—

نصحه کبرا [نسخه کبری] در بو

(5) Shaykh 'Abdu'lláh Ṣaláḥí Efendi's commentary (composed in A.H. 1175 = A.D. 1761-2: see f. 83) on a Persian *ghazal* of 11 *bayts* with the *radif* یافتم by Mawláná Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí (ff. 48<sup>b</sup>-83<sup>a</sup>), beginning:—

پیر طریقت سلطان مولانای رومی حضرتلر ینگ اون بر بیتم یافتم  
غزلنی شیخ عبد الله صلاحی افندی شرح ایتمشدر قدس سرهما العزیز

دوش وقت صبحدم در چرخ پایان یافتم  
در میان دانه خشخاش سندان یافتم

یکت گلاهی داشتیم از لبکیمو گم شد زمین  
در میان دفتر ملا سلیمان یافتیم

Shaykh Salāḥu'd-Dīn is described as belonging to the Khalwatī order of dervishes (من الخلوتية الكاملية).

- (6) A Persian tract (ff. 84<sup>b</sup>–103<sup>a</sup>) by the above-mentioned Ṣalāḥī Efendi on the “Companions of [the Battle of] Badr,” entitled:—

رساله فارسی صلاحی افندی در اصحاب بدر

Begins:—

‘بنظم این رساله یا الہی ‘ مرا بنما طریقِ راست راہی

(11) Or. 6,379 (*Persian*).

The *Kursī-nāma*, a Persian *mathnawī* poem of about 4,349 *bayts*, beginning:—

ابتدارا بہترین نامِ خدا ‘ بود فضلش کردم از وی ابتدا  
فَ اللہ آن خداوند کریم ‘ ہدائی خُلد از صراطِ مستقیم

Ff. 199 of 14 × 9.5 c. Transcription completed at the end of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1025 (= Jan. 8, A.D. 1617). Purchased 13, v, 1902.

(12) Or. 6,380 (*Persian*).

A collection of Ḥurūfī tracts, including the *Waṣīyyat-nāma*, the *Taḥqīq-nāma*, the *Bashārat-nāma*, and the *Hidāyat-nāma*, transcribed (f. 23<sup>b</sup>) in A.H. 1004 (= A.D. 1595–6), and purchased 13, v, 1902. Ff. 103 of 17.6 × 12 c. Contents:

- (1) The *Waṣīyyat-nāma* (ff. 2<sup>b</sup>–23<sup>b</sup>). The title occurs on f. 4<sup>a</sup> in the following passage:—

خواست کہ رسالہ ہر سبیل اختصار باسمِ وصیت نامہ و یادگار  
از جمعی درویشان صادق و طالبانِ محققِ ہمدردانِ محرم و  
محرمانِ ہمدوم بوصیت نامہ کتابت کمد

This tract is divided into sections (فصول), each beginning بدان ای درویش. Colophon on f. 23<sup>b</sup>,



giving date of completion as the beginning of Muḥarram, A.H. 1004 (= Sept., A.D. 1595), and name of copyist as Walí.

- (2) On f. 24<sup>a</sup> is a short prose passage (8 lines) on what happens to the soul after the destruction of the body, followed by the testament (*Wasiyyat-náma*) of Faḍlu'lláh, of which the text and translation are given on pp. 541-2 *supra*.
- (3) F. 25<sup>a</sup>. Two versified lists of the Twelve Imáms, of 3 and 9 *bayts* respectively, by Jalálí Bey and Sayyid Nesímí.
- (4) Ff. 25-28. A *qasída* of about 125 *bayts*, beginning:—

بِفَضْلِ بَايِ بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ نَسْخَن گُوئِيمِ كِه دَر عَمِرَا (?)

كِه بِي هَر دُو جِهَان بُود و بُود هَمچُونِ الْف يَكْتَا

On f. 29<sup>b</sup> is another colophon, giving the date Muḥarram, A.H. 999 (= Oct.-Nov., A.D. 1590). This is followed by a poem of 17 *bayts* rhyming in ق, and by a few remarks on prayer, etc.

- (5) The *Bashárat-náma-i-Iláhi* (ff. 30<sup>a</sup>-62<sup>b</sup>), a *mathnawí* poem of about 1,089 *bayts*, composed by one of the *Khalífus*, or Vicars, of Faḍlu'lláh named Abu'l-Ḥasan, and beginning:—

دُوشِ دَر هِمَّامِ صَبَحِ اُولَيْنِ ' بَا حَرِيفِ خُورُوشِ بُوْدَمِ قَرِينِ

- (6) Ff. 62<sup>b</sup>-64<sup>b</sup>. A short prose tract, beginning:—

چَندِ كَلِمَه دَر بَابِ مَوَازِينِ الْعِبَارَاتِ اَمَّا كَرْدَمِی شُود . . . اَلْحَمْدُ

- (7) The *Hidáyat-náma* (ff. 64<sup>b</sup>-103<sup>b</sup>), beginning:—

اَلْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ الَّذِي هَدَانَا لِهَذَا . . . اَلْحَمْدُ بَدَانِ اِي طَالِبِ  
عَاشِقِ صَادِقِ وَتَقَرُّكَ اللّٰهُ تَعَالٰی فِی طَلِبِ الْمَعَانِي وَالْكَمَالَاتِ كِه  
جَمِيعِ سَالِكَانِ . . . اَلْحَمْدُ

The *'Arsh-nāma* is cited on ff. 82<sup>b</sup> and 92<sup>b</sup>, and the *Jāvidān-nāma* on f. 95<sup>a</sup>. Faḍlu'llāh is spoken of as "His Holiness the Master of the Interpretation" (حضرت صاحب تأویل).

There is a final colophon on f. 103<sup>b</sup> giving the date of transcription of the *Hidāyat-nāma* as Sha'bān, A.H. 1003 (= April–May, A.D. 1595), followed by 3 bayts from the *Maḥshar-nāma-i-Ilāhi* of Ḥaḍrat-i 'Aliyyi A'lā, one of the *Khalīfas* of Faḍlu'llāh.

(13) OR. 6,381 (*Persian and dialect*).

A Hurufī tract by Mīr Fāḍilī (ff. 4<sup>b</sup>–101<sup>a</sup>), beginning:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و بفضلہ نستعین، قوله جَ جَ جَ جَ کلام  
صاحب کمال کہ بیان فآء و همۀ اشیا هنکرد . . . اکنون  
بدانکہ این فقیر و حقیرا درین آیت با حرمت کہ وعدۀ رؤیت را  
قَ تَعِ اَوَّل بسی شب کردند،

The colophon (on f. 101<sup>a</sup>) is dated A.H. 1163 (= A.D. 1750), and is followed (ff. 101<sup>b</sup> *et seqq.*) by a commentary by Ḥamza Bey, and (ff. 108<sup>a</sup>–113<sup>a</sup>) by numerous verses from different sources. I have already referred (p. 540 *supra*) to the important series of dates given on f. 2<sup>a</sup> of this MS. They are given in figures and also, in the following note, in words:—

ظہور و بروز قَ خدا از هجرت حبیب خُدام در هشت صد و  
هشتاد و هشت شد،

و ولادت او در هشت صد و چپل واقع شد،

و شہادت او در هشت صد نود و شش شد،

و مقتول شدن دجّال کہ مارانشاد است علیہ اللعنة در ستم<sup>۸۳</sup>

In a marginal note the last date is "corrected" to A.H. 703, which is an obvious error. Amongst the numerous other notes and verses scribbled on the blank pages of this MS. are the following:—

بیشتر شدن بیش نسنه طشرد چیتدی اول آدم و حوّا و شیطان و  
طاوس و مار، آدمدن مراد روحدر و حوّا جسم در و شیطان طبیعت  
در و طاوس شهوتدر و مار غضب در (f. 1a)

بیت، آب در چشمه خورشید نماند ای عیسی  
خون بدست آر که با خاک تیمّم گُفَرست (f. 2a)  
رباعیات سید اسحق

سی سال ز بعد - رگت از فـ خدا  
ناگاد بگوشم آمد از غیب ندا  
که مرده صد سال چه خُفتی در خاک  
بر خیز که هنگام حسابست و جزا (f. 2a)

## II. IN MY OWN COLLECTION.

### (14) A. 41.

One of five *Ḥurufī* MSS. bought at the sale of the effects of a *Bektāshī* dervish in May, 1901. Ff. 205 of 15.5 × 10.5 c. Contents:—

- (1) *Ḥikmatu'l-Asrār* (ff. 1<sup>b</sup>–6<sup>a</sup>), a short tract in Turkish, consisting chiefly of quotations from the *Qur'ān* and the Traditions, and beginning:—

اسلام دینشک بنیادی بش نسنه اوزره در آنج

- (2) Two quotations of six verses each, apparently from the *Mathnawī* (f. 7<sup>a</sup>).

- (3) The *Musajja'*, a short Persian treatise in rhymed prose, of Mawláná Ghiyáth (ff. 7<sup>b</sup>–9<sup>a</sup>), beginning:—

ای دل رهبر رد رو و رد بر روح پرور .  
مطلوع انور ساز برابر سجج  
سراسر مدحت حیدر الخ

- (4) A *qasida* of 162 *bayts* (ff. 9<sup>a</sup>–15<sup>b</sup>) by Kamál b. Ghiyáth, beginning:—

ای دل دانا زبان بکشا و یک دم با خود آ  
اول دفتر مزین کن بتوحید خدا

This is followed (ff. 15<sup>b</sup>–25<sup>b</sup>) by other pieces of verse by Sa'dí, 'Attár, Sháh Ni'matu'lláh, etc.

- (5) The *Khuṭbatu'l-Bayán* (Turkish), of which the title and opening words run thus:—

هذا كتاب خطبة البيان امير المؤمنين حضرت شاد مردان كرم  
الله وجهه

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم 'حمد بی حد و ثنای بی حد . . .  
الخ 'اما بعد حمد و ثنا و الصلوة والسلام . . . الخ 'اما بعد  
ای طالب راد حقیقت اگر بیلمک دیلرسن که تحقیقا کیمدر اول  
شاد اولیا و وصی مصطفی اول ولی مجتبا اول سرور اصغیا . . . الخ

It comprises seventy *Kalimas*, or sayings of 'Alí b. Abí Talib, each of which is explained and illustrated, and fills ff. 26<sup>b</sup>–181<sup>a</sup>. The colophon is dated A.H. 983 (= A.D. 1575–6).

- (6) A short tract in Turkish entitled *Irshad-i-Kiswa* (ff. 181<sup>b</sup>–183<sup>a</sup>), beginning after the doxology:—

اما بعد 'بر نچه کلمه تاج و کسود بیان ادر 'امام محمد باقر ع  
بو رسالیه ارشاد کسود دیو آد وردی

- (7) Another tract in Turkish by Bábá Qayghúsiz (ff. 183<sup>a</sup>–185<sup>b</sup>), beginning :—

ای عقل کامل بو سوزڭ جوهرنه بر نظر ايله گورنه بيان ايلر

- (8) Another short tract in Turkish (ff. 185<sup>b</sup>–186<sup>a</sup>) on 23 things which man must avoid.
- (9) Another short Turkish tract (f. 186<sup>a</sup>) on the tradition “He who knows himself hath known his Lord.”
- (10) A Persian tract by Zaynu’-Dín al-Khwáfí on Šufí ethics (آداب الصوفیة), in 19 chapters (ff. 186<sup>b</sup>–189<sup>b</sup>).
- (11) Another Persian tract (ff. 189<sup>b</sup>–192<sup>a</sup>) on the dispute between Knowledge (علم), Understanding (عقل), Prosperity (دولت), and Health (عافیت).
- (12) A Persian tract entitled *Mudhaffar-náma-i-Náshirván*, supposed to have been compiled by Buzurjmihr for his sovereign (ff. 192<sup>b</sup>–196<sup>a</sup>).
- (13) An Arabic tract (ff. 197<sup>b</sup>–198<sup>b</sup>) by a disciple of the saint Jamálu’-Dín al-Ḥusayn al-Qudsí on the 32 letters contained in the Prophet’s titles.
- (14) A Persian tract (ff. 198<sup>b</sup>–202<sup>b</sup>) in eleven sections, beginning :—

فصل اول در اقسام نفوس و آن چهار است فلکی و حیوانی و نباتی

و طبیعی المنه

- (15) Two Persian *ghazals* by Rafíqí and a Persian quatrain (ff. 203<sup>a</sup>–203<sup>b</sup>).
- (16) A note on the genealogy of Sayyid ‘Imádu’-Dín Nesímí in Turkish (ff. 203<sup>b</sup>–204<sup>b</sup>). He is said to have taken his *takhalluṣ* from a district called Nesím near Baghdad, and to have been originally a follower of Shaykh Shibli, but afterwards of Faḍlu’lláh the Ḥurúfí, one of whose Vicars (*Khulafá*) he became.
- (17) A few of the *qit‘as* of Ibn Yamín (f. 205). Here the MS. breaks off abruptly. It contains, as will be seen, little that is essentially Ḥurúfí, but rather such



mixture of Ṣūfī and Shī'ite treatises as would be suitable to the Bektāshī neophyte, though the notice of Nesīmī indicates sympathy with the Hurūfīs.

(15) A. 42 (*Turkish*).

Another of the five MSS. bought at the Bektāshī sale in May, 1901. Ff. 88 of 17·4 × 12·1 c. Contents:—

- (1) *Bayān-i-Aḥwāl-i-Ḥaṣṣr wa Amr-i-Ma'ād* (ff. 1<sup>b</sup>–4<sup>b</sup>) on the Resurrection, beginning:—

هذا بیان احوال حشر و امر معادی بیلدیر  
ایمدی معلوم اولدیکه بزم کند و ذوق مزید احوال حشر و امر  
معادین تمثیلی اولدیر که جمیع مشکلر انسانه معلوم اوله دورت  
مرتبه اوزرینه دیر آن

- (2) *Risāla-i-Ḥulūl u Ittihād-i-bi-ḥāl* (ff. 4<sup>b</sup>–8<sup>a</sup>) on Incarnation and Union, beginning:—

سید شریف قدس سر د حاشیه تجرید د بیان ایلدیگی بحثی  
قظمیر نقل ادوب دیر که آن

- (3) The *Ākhirat-nāma* of Firishta-zāda (ff. 8<sup>b</sup>–15<sup>b</sup>), beginning:—

الحمد لله رب العالمین والعاقبة للمتقين ولا عدوان الا على  
الظالمین و صلی الله علی منظر الذات محمد و آله اجمعین  
اما بعد ' بو فقیر عبد المجید ابن فرشته صلح الله شأنه و صانه عما  
شانه آن

- (4) The *Kitāb-i-Nuḡḡatu'l-Bayān* by Shaykh-zāda (ff. 19<sup>b</sup> et seqq.), beginning:—

قال الله تعالى آية سُرِّيهِمْ آيَاتِنَا فِي الْأَفَاقِ وَفِي أَنْفُسِهِمْ حَتَّى  
يَتَبَيَّنَ لِيَوْمِ أَنَّهُ الْحَقُّ ' اى طالب بيل و آگاه اولكه آفاقدد نشانلر  
واردير النخ

It comprises 22 sections (فصل), and is dated Friday, 15 Jumáda i, A.H. 1282 (= Oct. 6, A.D. 1865). The scribe, As'ad, calls himself "the least of the servants of the Family of the Cloak [i.e. the Prophet, his daughter Fáṭima, her husband 'Alí, and their two sons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn] and the servant of Maḥmúd Bába" [who was no doubt the Pír, or Elder, of the *tekyé* to which he belonged].

- (5) F. 79<sup>a</sup>. A Turkish quatrain and two *bayts*, one in Turkish and one in Persian.
- (6) Ff. 79<sup>b</sup>–80<sup>b</sup>. A short Turkish tract on the secrets of the virtues of the letters, and the knowledge of the numbers belonging to the letters.
- (7) A short Turkish tract on the true nature of man (f. 81<sup>a</sup>). The remaining pages (ff. 81<sup>b</sup>–88<sup>b</sup>) are blank.

(16) A. 43 (*Turkish*).

A collection of Ḥurúfí poems and treatises, containing ff. 134 of 17·5 × 12·2 c., bought in September, 1901, and containing:—

- (1) A *qasída* of Shuhúdí (ff. 1<sup>b</sup>–3<sup>b</sup>), beginning:—

غرض ایجادِ عالمِ دِنِ ظُهورِ ذاتِ داورِ در  
عجب معنی نازِ کدرِ که عقل آندد مقتصدِ در

It contains 71 verses, and ends:—

شهودی اوتوز ایکی حرفش اسرارینه ایردگسه  
امین اولدش صومزلق زحمتندن آب کوثرِ در

This is followed by other Hurúfí poems (ff. 3<sup>b</sup>-11<sup>a</sup>) by Shuhúdí, Surúrí, Khalílí, and Nesímí, in Turkish, and by one Persian *bayt* by Na'ímí, and two Arabic *bayts* ascribed to 'Alí.

- (2) The *Bashárat-náma* of Rafí'í (ff. 11<sup>b</sup>-54<sup>a</sup>), beginning:—

قال النبى صَلىَّه فاتحة الكتاب سبع آيات  
 'أول سبع المثنائى اى حكيم' گلدی بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

The poem comprises some 1,440 verses, and ends:—

بودعايى مستجاب ايت يا مجيب  
 'فصلك اظهار ايت پديدار حبيب'

The characteristic Hurúfí symbols for the numbers 28 and 32 are of constant occurrence, and are always substituted in the poem for the Turkish equivalents of these numbers, *yigirmi sekiz* and *otuz iki*.

- (3) The *Tuhfa* of Shuhúdí, a Turkish *mathnawí* poem (ff. 55<sup>b</sup>-76<sup>a</sup>), beginning:—

'ابتدا فضل عظيم لا ينام' حمد لله گلدی مفتاح كلام

F. 76<sup>b</sup> is blank. On f. 77<sup>a</sup> is inscribed a *bayt* from the *Kursi-náma* and a reported saying of 'Alí in respect to the different classes of those who know God.

- (4) A Turkish treatise (ff. 77<sup>b</sup>-80<sup>b</sup>) without title, beginning:—

و لبثوا فى كهفهم ثلث مائة و ازرادوا تسعا يعنى اگلنديلر اصحاب  
 كهف مغاردرى ايچيندد اوچموز ييل دخی طقوز ييل عبارتدر سته  
 ايام بدن كه اوچموز بىگ ييل اولور آتخ

- (5) Another short piece (ff. 80<sup>b</sup>-81<sup>a</sup>), beginning:—

قال الشيخ ابو الحسن هذا استمع من صاحب التأويل اسرار جبر  
 و اخفاء صلات اين طغراءدو ابرو و چنار شود و موى سر منشق بخط  
 استوا آتخ

- (6) A tract in Persian (ff. 81<sup>a</sup>-88<sup>b</sup>) without title, beginning:—

الحمد لله الذى هدانا لهذا وما كنا لنهتدى لولا هداانا الله ' بنام  
قديم لا يزال الخ

- (7) The *Hidāyat-nāma*, in Turkish, with Persian preface, by Firishta-zāda (ff. 89<sup>b</sup>-112<sup>b</sup>), beginning:—

بنام قديم لا يزال وعلیم وفعال . . . الخ ' اما بعد ' باعث  
اين تحرير و سبب اين تقرير آن بود كه ياران همدم و همدمان  
محررم طالبان تحقيق دينى و صادقان مستحق يقينى از اين تفسير  
داعى بنده فضل يزدانى عبد المجيد ابن فرشته عز الدين اصلح الله  
شأنه التماس کردند كه . . . الخ

The title is given on f. 90<sup>a</sup>, l. 14, and the date of composition (on the same page) as Rabī' i, A.H. 830 (= Jan., A.D. 1427). Persian verses by Faḍlu'llāh occur on ff. 96<sup>a</sup>, 111<sup>b</sup>, 112<sup>a</sup>-112<sup>b</sup>. (صاحب تأويل)

- (8) A Turkish poem of 42 *bayts* (ff. 113<sup>b</sup>-114<sup>b</sup>), by Darwish Alwān, entitled *Dast-nāma*, beginning:—

ايشتكيم نظمله بر سوز ديسم خوش  
اگر عاقل ايشگ جان ايله ايت گوش

- (9) The *Ganj-nāma*, a Turkish *mathnawī* poem (ff. 115<sup>b</sup>-120<sup>a</sup>) by Rafī'ī, beginning:—

ای گنج نهان بی بدایت ' وی بحر محیط بی نہایت

- (10) The *Shahriyār-nāma* (ff. 121<sup>b</sup>-131<sup>a</sup>), a Turkish *mathnawī* poem by Panāhī, beginning:—

ابتدا در ابتدادر ابتدا ' ابتدادن حاصل اولدی انتہا  
ابتدا گلدی کلام لا ینام ' فی وضاد و لام حقدن و السلام

It was composed, according to the concluding verses (f. 131<sup>a</sup>), in A.H. 860 (= A.D. 1456):—

دیر ۸۰۰ ییمل ۶۰ ییمل ایدی ' بو تمام اولمقلغه تحویل ایدی '  
نطق حقندن اولدی بوسوزلر تمام ' ایلرکدده آیدر مادی-عیام '

The remaining leaves (ff. 131<sup>b</sup>–134) are blank.

(17) A. 49 (*Turkish*: printed).

The *Kāshifū'l-Asrār wa Dāfi'ū'l-Ashrār* of Ishāq Efendi, discussed in the earlier portion of this article, a Refutation of the Bektāshīs and Hurūfis in three chapters, published in A.H. 1291 (= A.D. 1874–5). Pp. 174 of 15·7 × 11·5. Begins, after the brief doxology:—

و بعد ' معلوم اوله که اهل اسلامى اضلاليله مشغول اولان  
طوائفک اشک باشلوجه سی طائفة بکتاشیان اولوب آتخ

(18) A. 69 (*Turkish*).

Lithographed edition of the '*Ishq-nāma* (here called '*Āshiq-nāma-i-Ilāhī*) of 'Abdu'l-Majīd b. Firishta (or "Firishta-zāda") 'Izzu'd-Dīn, which is professedly a translation into Turkish of the *Javīdān-nāma*, and was made (p. 3, ll. 2–3) in Shawwāl, A.H. 833 (= June–July, A.D. 1430). It is divided into 32 chapters, of which the contents are stated on pp. 5–7, and begins:—

الحمد لله رب العالمين ' و الصلوة والسلام على رسولنا محمد  
و آله وصحبه اجمعين ' والعاقبة للمتقين ' و العدوان على الشياطين '  
آما بعد ' بو حقير فرشته زاده عبد المجيد عز الدين اعلیح الله شأنه  
ایدركه . . . آتخ

Pp. 164 of 20 × 13·5 c. There is no date or place of publication, but this is probably the edition referred to in the *Kāshifū'l-Asrār* (see p. 536 *supra*) as having been published in A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871–2).



It is followed by another treatise, with separate pagination (pp. 19), entitled *Kamál-náma-i-Ál-i-‘Abá*, beginning:—

حَسَنَ حَمْدِ زَكِي نَامِعِدُودِ، وَحُسْبَيْنِ ثَنَائِي وَفِي نَسَا مَعْدُودِ اَوَّلِهِ  
الْبَخ

(19) B. 15 (*Turkish*).

Ff. 90 of 22·2 × 13·2 c. One of seven MSS. bought in September, 1901, containing:—

- (1) The *Miftáh*, or key to the contractions occurring in the *Hurúfí* writings, of which some 150 are given (ff. 2<sup>b</sup>–3<sup>b</sup>). This is probably “the tract entitled *Miftáhul-Hayát* (‘The Key of Life’)” referred to in the *Kāshifü’l-Asrār*. See p. 537 *supra*.
- (2) *Sirrü’l-Mufradát* (“The Secret of the single [Letters]”: ff. 4<sup>a</sup>–5<sup>b</sup>). This describes a form of *abjad* in which the numerical values of the letters differ from those ordinarily assigned: e.g., ح = 1 (i.e. ا) instead of 8; ط = 2 (i.e. ب) instead of 9, up to ن = 7 (i.e. ز) instead of 50; س again = 1 (i.e. ا) instead of 60; ع = 2 (i.e. ب) instead of 70, up to ش, which again = 7. In other words, the first seven letters of the *abjad* (ا ب ج د ه و ز) are discarded, or keep their original values of 1–7, and the remaining 21 fall into 3 groups of 7 each, the letters in each group indicating the numbers 1 to 7. Begins:—

بِخَشِي نَظَرِ اَيَدِ دَسَنِ كِه قَانُونِ نِيَجِه ضَبْطِ . . . اَلْبَخ

- (3) The *‘Ishq-náma* of Firishta-záda (ff. 5<sup>b</sup>–85<sup>b</sup>), lacking the Preface which precedes the Table of Contents in the lithographed edition, and beginning with the latter, which agrees with the lithograph. On the other hand, in this MS. a different Preface, lacking in the lithograph, is interpolated between the Table of Contents and Chapter i. This begins, after the short doxology:—

اَما بعد ' حضرت احدیثہ حمد ایتدکدن صَگرد و رسول حضرتنه  
سلام ایتدکدن صَگرد معلوم و مقبوم اولنه که بو علم لدنیّه الهی فارسی  
لسانی اوزرینه ایدی

The author's name, title of the work, and date of composition stand here (f. 6<sup>b</sup>) as in the lithograph, but the two texts, though probably representing two different recensions, appear in the main to correspond.

(20) C. 6 (*Turkish*).

The *Divân of 'Arshî*, a Turkish Hurufî poet, bought 22, v, 1901. Ff. 90 of 22·7 × 14·4 c. Not dated. Begins:—

با بسم اللّٰه ایلہ قرانہ ایتدم ابتدا  
قاف و یا ودالی قیلدم حرف واحد ده ادا

(21) C. 7 (*Turkish*).

The *Divân* of another Turkish poet named Muhiyyu'd-Dîn Abdâl, bought 22, v, 1901, beginning:—

بزدہ بلدیکمزی سویلیم ' دگلیانہ علی مدحین ایلیم  
علی در مؤمنلرک رهبری ' علیدر مصطفیٰ نشک سودکلی

Ff. 40 of 22 × 16·3 c. Copied by Luṭfî, A.H. 1271 (= A.D. 1854-5).

(22) C. 8 (*Turkish*).

Another of the five MSS. bought at the Bektâshî sale in May, 1901, containing ff. 104 of 23·6 × 14·1 c., and containing:—

(1) A Turkish *mathnawî* poem (ff. 1<sup>b</sup>-30<sup>a</sup>) in 32 chapters, by *Turâbî*, containing about 1100 couplets, and beginning:—

با بسم اللّٰهی گل دگله عیان ' شاد سردان ستری در بو گل ایغان

and ending :—

‘ بو ترابی جوشوب جان ودلی ‘ سویلدن سن سویلین سن یا علی ‘

- (2) *Kayfiyyat-i-Khilqat Risālasī* (ff. 33<sup>b</sup>-38<sup>b</sup>), a tract in Turkish on the manner of Creation, beginning :—

ما خلق الله تعالى آدم ستين لونا من الشراب خلق نور محمد  
ما خلق في السموات والأرض وما خلق جبرائيل ميكائيل  
اسرافيل عزرائيل الخ

- (3) Life of Hājji Bektāsh and the *Wilāyat-nāma* of Hājim Sulṭān (ff. 38<sup>b</sup>-72<sup>a</sup>), the latter filling only 2 pages (ff. 71<sup>b</sup>-72<sup>a</sup>), entitled :—

هذا مناقب حضرت خنکار حاجی بکتاش ولی ولایت نامه  
حاجم سلطان حضرتلری قدس الله ارواحهم اجمعین ‘

The *Manāqib* begins :—

الحمد لله . . . الخ ‘ اما بعد بلغل کم حق سبحانه وتعالى  
خلقى يرا تمقذن مراد اولدرکه علم معرفت عبادة ايکي جپاندده الخ

The *Wilāyat-nāma* begins :—

بارک الله فيکم طيب الله انفسکم ورضى الله عنکم و عن  
والديکم و عن استاذيکم و عن كافة المسلمين اجمعين حاضرين (sic)  
غائبين برحمتک يا ارحم الراحمين بارک الله اعزکم الله  
اوقيانلرايچون دگليانلرايچون الخ

- (4) The *Ākhirāt-nāma* of Firishta-zāda (ff. 73<sup>b</sup>-76<sup>b</sup>), beginning :—

الحمد لله . . . الخ ‘ اما بعد ‘ بو فتير عبد المجيد [بن]  
فرشته عز الدين الخ

(5) A treatise on the Letters (ff. 76<sup>b</sup>–90<sup>b</sup>), beginning:—  
 آب ت ث ج ح خ الى آخره پا چا ژا گا و علم آدم الاسماء كلها الخ

(6) The remainder of the volume (ff. 91<sup>a</sup>–104<sup>a</sup>) contains scraps of Turkish poetry, *gülbângs*, prayers, and (ff. 94<sup>b</sup>–95<sup>a</sup>) an account of the affiliation of Hâjji Bektâsh and of the spread of his Order, entitled:—

در بیان سلسله حضرت خنکار حاجی بکتاش ولى قدس الله  
 سره العالی and طریق سراپتی

(23) C. 9 (*Turkish*).

Another collection of Hurufî tracts, containing ff. 79 of 22·8 × 15·3 c. Bought 22, v, 1901. Contents:—

(1) Tract without title (ff. 1<sup>b</sup>–17<sup>a</sup>), beginning:—

الحمد لله الذى هدا (sic) لهذا وما كنا نهتدى لولا ان هدانا الله  
 . . . اما بعد، بلك كلام النبى و نطق ربانى و كتاب آسمانى  
 ايچنده و احاديث نبويه دد گوردم كه . . . الخ

(2) The *Faqr-nâma* of Virânî Dedé (ff. 17<sup>a</sup>–51<sup>b</sup>), beginning:  
 الحمد لله رب العالمين، ايمدى اى طالب فضل حق الحمد  
 لله دن مراد تنگرى آگمقدرو تنگرى آگمقدن مراد آخ

The colophon is dated Shawwâl, A.H. 1059 (= Oct., A.D. 1649).

(3) The *Fayd-nâma* (ff. 51<sup>b</sup>–76<sup>a</sup>), a Turkish *mathnawî* poem, beginning:—

سطر بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، آدم و حوا در اى ديور جيم  
 يعنى بسم الله ايسته آدمى، فضل حق سلطان هر دو عالمى

In the colophon (f. 76<sup>a</sup>), which is dated the end of Shawwâl, A.H. 1059 (= Nov. 5, A.D. 1649), it is called:—

الرساله الفينيه الاقدسيه الموسومة بفيض نامه

(4) The *Tirāsh-nāma* (ff. 76<sup>a</sup>–77<sup>a</sup>), beginning :—

أَوَّلُ لِبَاسِينَ آلِوَرَكُنِ بُونِي أَوْقِيهِ وَإِذَا شِئْنَا بَدَلْنَا أَمْثَالَهُمْ تَبْدِيلًا

(24) C. 10 (*Turkish*).

'*Uyūnū'l-Hidāyat*, a Turkish Hurūfī prose treatise with Arabic Preface, beginning :—

الحمد لله الذى جعلنا من امة حبيبته و خليفه محمد  
المصطفى الخ

This Preface (ff. 1<sup>b</sup>–3<sup>b</sup>) is chiefly in praise of the Twelve Imāms. The Turkish text begins :—

راقم تسويدات المئان صحائف عميان كريدى رسمى بكتاشى  
ناتوان بو طرزيله تحقيق بيان حمال و بو نيمجه شرح ما فى البال  
ايدركه . . . الخ

It thus appears that the author was a Bektāshī named Kiridī Rasmī, or Rasmī of Crete. Ff. 82 of 22·8 × 15·6 c. and 15 lines. The colophon, which is undated, runs :—

كتبه الفقير الحسين بن بندة محمود بابا فى الحصار، و منه هو

(25) C. 11 (*Turkish*).

The *Faḍīlat-nāma*, a long Turkish *mathnawī* poem in the apocopated hexameter *hazaj* metre, beginning :—

ازل ياد ايددليم حتى و قديمى ' دى بسم الله الرحمن الرحيمى

It appears to treat chiefly of the virtues of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, as stated in the following line in the Introduction (f. 5<sup>a</sup>) :—

فصليت نامه سندن مرتضائنگ ' بيان معجزندن مصطفى ننگ  
خبر صوردين روايات علیدن ' بيان ايله ديددينگ فضل وليدن

A superficial examination reveals little that is characteristically Hurūfī, the general tone of the poem being Shī'ite.

Bought 7, v, 1903. Ff. 262 of  $20 \times 14$  c. The *Faḍilat-náma* ends on f. 247, and the remaining pages of the volume are inscribed with various short poems by Nesímí, Sarmad, Asrár Dedé, etc.

(26) C. 12.

*Risála-i-Dil u Dána*, a long Turkish *mathnavi* poem in which *ghazals* are intermingled, by Shaykh Ibráhím Efendi al-Oghlání al-Áq-sará'í, beginning:—

‘الهما علمنه يوق حدّ و غاييت ‘ خدايا وعفنه يوق هيچ نهايت ‘

This is followed by *ghazals* and other poems in which the author uses his name, Ibráhím, as his *takhalluṣ*, while in others the *takhalluṣ* Khidr occurs. The MS. is one of the five bought at the Bektáshí sale in Constantinople in May, 1901.

Ff. 116 of  $23.3 \times 17$  and 19 lines. Good Turkish *naskh*. The colophon is dated A.H. 1285 (= A.D. 1868–9), and runs as follows:—

حزّره المحتير سيّد اسعد السعداء چاكر آل عبا عن بندۀ حضرت  
سيّد محمود بابا سجاده نشين بدرگاد شريف شهيد لك دلگشا در  
روم ايللى حصارى بالآقدس الله اسرارهم و نفعنا الله بانوارهم  
اجمعين في ٩ زسنة ١٢٨٥

In this MS. also I have observed nothing distinctively Hurufí.

### III. IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS.

(27) ANCIEN FONDS PERSAN, 24.

For full description of this MS., which was acquired 24, vi, 1873, see the *J.R.A.S.* for Jan., 1898, pp. 63–64. Contents:—



- (1) The *Istirā-nāma* (ff. 1<sup>b</sup>-59<sup>b</sup>) of Amīr Abū'l-Yaqīn Ghiyāthū'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Astarābādī, who mentions (f. 9<sup>a</sup>) Ramaḍān 12, A.H. 846 (= Jan. 14, A.D. 1443), as the date of his conversion. The colophon is dated A.H. 970 (= A.D. 1562-3), and is preceded by the two following quatrains:—

اینست کتاب استوا نامه بنام

اعلام کند بهشت و دوزخ بتمام

هر کس که بخواند این کتاب از سر عدت

داند همه ارواح کجا کرد مقام

هر کو بکتاب استوا نامه رسید

از فضل بسر نامه خاوه رسید

در یافت بهشت و روز حشر را بیستین

با معرفت مکمل نام (sic) رسید

- (2) A Persian Ḥurūfī *mathnawī* poem (ff. 62<sup>b</sup>-80<sup>b</sup>) on Alexander's quest for the Water of Life, beginning:

ابتدا کردم بنام ذو الجلال ' حیی و قیوم و قدیم بی زوال

On the preceding page (f. 62<sup>a</sup>) is scribbled a poem by Khayālī.

- (3) The glossary of the dialect words in the *Jāvidān-i-Kabīr* (ff. 62<sup>b</sup>-80<sup>b</sup>), beginning:—

آوی آوی آون آمی آمیند آمد آویته  
آنست آورد آوردن آمد آمدند آویخته

(28) SUPPLÉMENT PERSAN, 107 (*Persian*).

A Ḥurūfī work which, for reasons stated on p. 65 *ad calc.* in the *J.R.A.S.* for January, 1898, I believe to be the

*Maḥabbat-nāma-i-Ilāhī*. For further description see the article above-mentioned, pp. 64–66. Ff. 139. Dated A.H. 895 (= A.D. 1489–90). Copyist, Darwīsh Aḥmad.

#### IV. CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

(29) OR. 40 (*Turkish*).

The *Divān* of 'Arshī, beginning:—

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ اَيْلَه قَرَّانَه اَيْتَدَم اَبْتَدَا  
قَاف وِ يَا وَدَالِي قَيْلَدَم حَرْف وَاَحَدَدِه اَدَا

Ff. 128 of 23 = 16·6 c. and 17 lines. Good plain Turkish *nashk*, within red lines. Bought 5, ii, 1901. Copyist, Sayyid 'Alī Rīḍā, who describes himself as “dust at the feet of the Family of the Cloak” (see p. 555 *supra*)—*ḥākīy-ā'āl-ʿaba*. Some of the poems are in Persian. At the end of the volume (f. 128) is a short biographical notice of the poet. He belonged to Yeñi Bázár in Rumelia, and his proper name was Maḥmūd. He originally took the *takhalluṣ* of Chákí (چاكى), which he afterwards changed to 'Arshī (عرشى), because, as he says:—

غُلْغُلِ شَعْرَمِنْ بَعْرَش رَسِيد ' زَان سَبَب شَد تَخْلَصَم عَرَشِي

He appears to have lived about A.H. 964 (= A.D. 1556–7).

(30) OR. 41 (*Turkish*).

The *Wilāyat-nāma* of Hájji Bektáš:—

هَذَا وِلَايَتِ نَامَه قُطْبِ عَالَمِ خُصْكَارِ حَاجِي بَكْتَشِ وَلِي قُدَس  
سَرْدِ الْعَزِيزِ

Ff. 132 of 24·3 × 16·8 c. and 17 lines. Poor Turkish *nasta'liq*. Dated 24 Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1274 (= 7 July, A.D. 1858). Bought 5, ii, 1901. The contents are given (ff. 1<sup>b</sup>–2<sup>a</sup>) as follows:—

(فهرست) حاجی بکتاش ولی ننگ نسبی (حاجی بکتاش بن  
 سید محمد بن موسی ثانی بن ابراهیم المجاب بن علی [بن] موسی  
 الرضا الخ) و سوادوی - معلمه ویردکسری - خنکار اسمعی  
 ویردکسری - حاجی دیندیگی - خراسان ارنلرینه نشان  
 گونستریدیگی - سوسام بیراضی اوزرنده نماز قیلدقلى - اوصاف  
 حمیددلى - احمد یسوی ننگ اوصاف حمیددلى - قُبَّه  
 الف و تاج و خرقه و چراغ و علم و سجاده - احمد یسوی قطب  
 الدین حیدری بدخشانه ارسالی حاجی بکتاش ولی واروب  
 گونستریدیگی - \* احمد یسوی حضورینه ایرشدیگی - بدخشان  
 ملکینی فاتح ایتدیگی - داریجه، اوزرنده نماز قیلدیگی - \*  
 خواجه احمد یسوی اذنیله رومه گلدیگی - روم ارنلرینه سلام  
 ویردیگی - ولی امریه نشان گونستریدیگی ابرهیم حاجیه نظر  
 ایتدیگی - خضرایله ملاقی و بوستانجی به نظر ایتدیگی اورکوب  
 ولایتده گونستریدیگی رمز - صوبچه قریونگ قراری - اشارت ایله  
 دیوار طوغرلدیگی - گونستریدیگی ولایتی - نور الدین خواجه یه  
 گونستریدیگی ولایت - بش طاش طانقلق ویردیگی - زمهریره الما  
 صاری یه گونستریدیگی رمز - برفقیه امامستی - خمیر قیاده رمز  
 گونستروب طاش کسیدیگی - ولایتلردن بری - گندم و میرجه کی  
 طاش ایلدیگی - امرجه سلطان ایله رمزی - اشارتله قزلبچه  
 خلوت یاپلیدیگی - خضر نمبی ایله ملاقی اولدیگی - غائب  
 ارنلرینه ملاقی اولدیگی - صاری اسماعیلی قونیه یه ملا خنکار

\* The sections indicated between the asterisks, as well as the end of the tract, from f. 115<sup>b</sup> onwards, are in verse, the remainder in prose.

گوندردیگی در' - بر چوپانی المیله فرنگستانه آتدیغی در' -  
 قدنحق انایه ولایت گوستردیگی - قدنحق انایه نفس ایدوب  
 اولادی اولدیغی - کوانچ ابداله سؤال ایتدیگی ره-زی - دریا  
 اوزرنده گمی خلاص - قدرینه صفا نظیر ایتدیگی - سید غازی  
 زیارتی - گوستردیگی ره-زله - سید محمود خیران ارسلانه بنوب  
 گلدیگی - یونس امردی طبعدیق امردی ارسالی - الخ

From f. 115<sup>b</sup> to the end is in verse, and also, as already mentioned, ff. 15<sup>a</sup>-30<sup>b</sup>. The biography ends with Hájji Bektásh's appointment of five Khalifas, or Vicars; his testamentary instructions to Šarí Isma'íl; his death, and the miracles performed after it; and his burial. The text begins:—

شکرو سپاس بی غایه و حمد [و] ثناء لانهایه اول واحد فرد یکتا و  
 رؤف عظیم بی همتا آفریدگار عالمیانه اول پادشاهه اولسونکه الخ

(31) OR. 42 (*Turkish*).

رسالة فی خواص المقدرات العجیمة لدرویش بابا اویس

*Risála fî Khawâssî'l-Mufradât 'ajiba*, a treatise on the virtues of the letters, etc., in four chapters, by Darwîsh Bába Uways. Ff. 35 of 14·4 × 9·9 c. and 11 lines; written in good *naskh* with rubrications, and dated A.H. 952 (= A.D. 1545-6). Bought 5, ii, 1901. The author is described as "one of the disciples (*abdúl*) of Sultán Sayyid-i-Ghází." The text begins:—

الحمد لله الملمم (sic) الاسرار والمطلع شمس علمه البدنی  
 فی قلوب انبیائه الخ

The characteristic Hurufí signs for 28, 32, etc., occur throughout.

(32) OR. 43 (*Persian*).

A collection of Hurúfí tracts, bought 5, ii, 1901, and containing ff. 112 of  $15 \times 10$  c. On f. 1 is given a list of the abbreviations used by the Hurúfís. The other contents are as follows:—

- (1) The *Shiráb-náma* of Sayyid Isháq, a contemporary of Faḍlu'lláh (ff. 2<sup>b</sup>–31<sup>b</sup>), composed in A.H. 814 (= A.D. 1411–12). Transcription ended on Dhu'l-Qa'da 2, A.H. 1018 (= Jan. 27, A.D. 1610), in the village of 'Ayn Malik in Kurdistán. Scribe, Shujá' Dedé. At the end stand the words : بعون فآ الله الوهاب . Begins:—

بنام عاشقِ اول و مُحْتَبِ ازل که بنظر جمیل نگران جمال و بدید  
تذصیل حیران اجمال النخ

- (2) The *Wiláyat-náma* (ff. 32<sup>b</sup>–58<sup>a</sup>), composed in Rajab, A.H. 1030 (= May–June, A.D. 1621), beginning:—

شکرو سپاس و حمد بی قیاس بانفی عالم ناس را که بوهم و قیاس  
و تفرقه و سواس پیرامن سرادقات ذوصفات او نتوان گشت النخ

- (3) Another tract, anonymous and untitled (ff. 58<sup>b</sup>–66<sup>a</sup>), beginning:—

شکرو سپاس ح خالق را که از فوایح کلام تفرقه صوری و معنوی  
مارا در سلک نظام کشید النخ

- (4) The *Zubdatu'n-Naját* (ff. 66<sup>b</sup>–69<sup>b</sup>), beginning (after the doxology):—

بدان ای طالب صراط مستقیم و جوینده راد محبات و رستگاری النخ

- (5) A titleless and anonymous tract which seems to be the *Tahqiq-náma* (ff. 70<sup>b</sup>–86<sup>a</sup>), containing 4 *tahqíqs*, and beginning:—

شکر و سپاس و حمد بسی قیاس ح احد قدیمی را ج د که قبضه  
خاک و قطره آب آینه

- (6) Two portions of a Turkish commentary (entitled *Sharh-i-Javídí*) on the *Jávidán-náma* (ff. 88<sup>a</sup>–109<sup>a</sup>) by “Hájji Efendi,” and (ff. 110<sup>b</sup>–112<sup>b</sup>) some other writings, including a discussion of the question why the word ابتدا is repeated six times at the beginning of the *Jávidán-náma*.

(33) OR. 44 (*Turkish*).

The ‘*Ishq-náma*’ of ‘Abdu’l-Majíd b. Firishta ‘Izzu’d-Dín (Firishta-záda), composed in A.H. 833 (= A.D. 1430). Ff. 133 of 18·9 × 10·8 c. and 13 lines. Good, clear naskh with rubrications: dated the end of Jumáda ii, A.H. 996 (= May 26, A.D. 1588); bought 5, ii, 1901. The arrangement of the prefatory matter differs from the lithographed edition described above (p. 558 *supra*), but agrees with it in the number, order, and contents of the chapters. Begins after table of contents and doxology:—

حضرت احدیتہ حمد ایتمکدن صگرد [و] رسول حضرتینہ صلوة  
وسلام ایتمکدن صگرد معلوم و منقووم اولدی که بو علم لدننه البیہ  
فارسی لسانی اوزرینہ ایدی بعد از آن بو روم ملکنده آینه

The contents of the 32 chapters is given as follows:—

- باب ۱ فی العشق و المحبة ‘ باب ۲ فی معرفة لوا الحمد ‘  
باب ۳ فی حقیقة الرحمة ‘ باب ۴ میراث الأرض ‘  
باب ۵ فی کیفیت السُّت بِرَبِّکُمْ قالوا بلی ‘ باب ۶ فی المعراج ‘  
باب ۷ اسرار کلمة الله ‘ باب ۸ فی قدم القرآن ‘  
باب ۹ خَلَقَ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ فِي سِتَّةِ أَيَّامٍ ‘  
باب ۱۰ فی حقیقة السكر و التَّمَوی ‘



باب ۱۱ فی داتبه الأرض

باب ۱۲ فی اسرار الحج والاحرام و حجر الاسود وغيره

باب ۱۳ فی کیفیة امة وسطی باب ۱۴ فی حقیقة صلوة المؤمنی

باب ۱۵ فی حقیقة لا تقر بها هذه الشجرة

باب ۱۶ فی تعظیم بیت العتیق و سنیمة نوح و غیره

باب ۱۷ فی حقیقة بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

باب ۱۸ فی حقیقة الامانة

باب ۱۹ فی سر الحج والمعزة و غیره باب ۲۰ فی حقیقة كشف الساق

باب ۲۱ فی حقیقة المحروف باب ۲۲ فی السجدة على الساق

باب ۲۳ فی سر طلوع الشمس من مغربها باب ۲۴ فی کیفیة المهدي

باب ۲۵ فی زمان المهدي

باب ۲۶ فی حقیقة اليوم الذي يخرج المهدي

باب ۲۷ فی قول المسيح من الحواريين باب ۲۸ فی حقیقة كنز المعبة

باب ۲۹ فی احاطة الاسم الاعظم باب ۳۰ فی رؤية الله

باب ۳۱ فی رحم حوا باب ۳۲ فی حقیقة امير المؤمنين على

In the course of the book the author represents it as essentially a Turkish version of the *Jávidán-náma* in the following words:—

معلوم و مفہوم اولدی کہ بو علم لدنہ الہیہ فارسی لسانی اوزرینہ  
ایدی بعد از آن بو روم مملکتند فارسی لسانی بلنلر قلیادر بعض  
الاخوان اہل مشریدن . . . شویله تمئی ایتدیلر کہ بو علم  
لدنیہ الہیہ کہ علم تأویلدی ترکی لسانہ گلہ

(34) Or. 45 (*Turkish*).

The *Sa'ádat-náma*, composed by one of the disciples of Mawláná Báýazíd (the title is mentioned on f. 2<sup>a</sup>, l. 6 of the text). Ff. 42 of 18·6 × 10·9 c. and 13 lines. Dated Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 995 (= Nov., A.D. 1587). Bought 5, ii, 1901. The following explanation of the genesis of this book occurs near the beginning, immediately after the Doxology, which closely agrees with that of the '*Ishq-náma*':—

• معلوم و مفہوم اولدی کہ بو علم علم الہی در و دخی ابداندر کہ  
 • مؤدی اولر علم ادیان کہ اَلْعِلْمُ عِلْمَانِ عِلْمُ الْاَبْدَانِ وَ عِلْمُ الْاَدْيَانِ  
 • مِّنْ حَرَفٍ نَفْسُهُ عِلْمُ الْاَبْدَانِ فَقَدْ حَرَفَ رَبُّهُ عِلْمَ اَدْيَانِ در ' صُغْرُ در  
 • علم الہیۃ فضلیتہ (فضیلہ MS.) فارسی دلانجہ ایدی کہ بو بندۂ فیاضہ  
 • بو علم الہی کہ ایرشدی • مولانا ابا یزید حضرتلرندن ایرشدی سلمہ  
 • اللہ فی الدّارین بو بندۂ فضل فیاضہ پیسر و مرشد اولوب تقلیدات  
 • ظلمہ سائیۃ جہلیۃ دن خلاص ایلدی . . . بو علم الہیۃ فضلیتہ  
 • (فضیلہ MS.) فارسی دلندن ترکی دلنہ ترجمہ قلدی '

(35) Or. 62 (*Persian*).

A Persian *Hurufi qasida* by Sayyid-i-Sharíf, with Persian prose commentary by the author, entitled:—

هذا شرح قصیدۂ سیّد شریف علیہ الرحمة

On the inside of the cover it is labelled in a later hand "*Jávidán-náma*." Ff. 196 of 21 × 15·2 c. Good modern naskh, with rubrications; dated A.H. 1240 (= A.D. 1824-5). Bought 3, v, 1901. Begins:—

• ستایش بر کمال لایق ذات کریمیمست کہ سؤالات سائلان و تقاضاء  
 • محتاجان در خزانہن • وہمہ وجود او هیچ تنقیص و تنقیضی پیدا  
 • نمی کند الخ

The *qaṣida* begins :—

زاهل مدرسه و خانقاه جمله ديار 'سؤالهاست مرا بر طريق استفسار'

The '*Arsh-nāma* is repeatedly cited in the commentary. The author mentions having met Amīr Sayyid 'Alī at Tabrīz, when engaged there in making copies for himself of the *Jāvidān-nāma* and other Hurūfī works.

(36) OR. 488 (*Turkish*).

Another copy of the *Dirān of 'Arshī*, containing ff. 129 of 22 × 16 c.; not dated; bought 18, viii, 1904; beginning as usual :—

بَاء بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ اَيْلَهٗ قَرَّانَهٗ اَيْتَدَمُ اِبْتَدَا'

Followed (on ff. 124<sup>a</sup>–126<sup>a</sup>) by the *Miftāh*, or key to the contractions employed in the Hurūfī books, entitled مفتاح كتب حروفیان.

(37) OR. 530 (*Turkish*).

Ff. 88 of 19·4 × 14 c., transcribed by Darwīsh Muṣṭafā in the *tekye* of Bābā Qayghusuz in the Qaṣrū'l-'Ayn at Cairo; the first portion was completed on Ṣafar 26, A.H. 1223 (= April 23, A.D. 1808), and the second on 17 Jumāda i of the same year (= July 11, A.D. 1808). Bought 1, xi, 1904. Contains :—

(1) A Turkish translation of the *Kanzu'l-Haqq'iq wa Kashfu'd-Daqa'iq* of Shaykh Muḥammad 'Aynū'l-Qudāt of Hamadān (ff. 1–40).

(2) A Hurūfī work (ff. 42<sup>b</sup>–86<sup>b</sup>) entitled the *Kashf-nāma* (so in title and colophon), beginning :—

ذلک فضل اللّٰه یؤتیه من یشاء واللّٰه ذو الفضل العظیم 'الحمد  
که اون اسمیله تسمیه لمنشد در أمّ الکتاب فائحه الکتاب کتبه وافیہ  
و شافیہ و کافیہ و اساس و سبع المثانی و أمّ القرآن و سورۃ صلوات در

(38) OR. 531 (*Turkish*).

Another copy of the '*Ishq-náma* of Firishta-záda, agreeing with OR. 44 (see pp. 570-1 *supra*) in beginning abruptly with the table of contents, and agreeing also in the preface which follows this. Ff. 198 of  $16\cdot6 \times 11\cdot5$  c. Bought 1, xi, 1904. The '*Ishq-náma* occupies ff. 1<sup>b</sup>-191<sup>b</sup>, and is followed by another short *Hurúfí* treatise without title or author's name (ff. 192<sup>a</sup>-197<sup>a</sup>).

(39) OR. 532 (*Turkish*).

A collection of mystical and religious tracts in Turkish, none of which appear to be *Hurúfí*, though one (No. 8) is connected with *Hájji Bektásh*, on which account the volume is mentioned here. The collection is, however, labelled on the cover *مجموعه حروفیه* (" *Hurúfí Miscellany* "). Ff. 158 of  $16\cdot2 \times 10\cdot11$  c. Bought 1, xi, 1904. Contents:—

- (1) The *Haqiqat-náma* of Shaykh *Şáfí* (ff. 1<sup>b</sup>-13<sup>b</sup>), a treatise on Dreams and their interpretation, beginning, after a short doxology:—

امتا بعد ' بو بر عجاله در بر عزیزگ دلگ ازرنه صفا قرنداش لرندن  
کم آنلرگ معرفت حقایق بو ضعیف ازرنه واجب در . . . الخ

- (2) The *Paul-náma* or "Book of Counsel," ascribed in the brief table of contents on the cover to *Durîi* (written *صعیفی*), beginning:—

ینه اسمی (*sic*) الپی ایلدم یاد ' که اولاهر مرم آنکله آباد

Ff. 17<sup>b</sup>-35<sup>b</sup>; dated the end of Rajab, A.H. 944 (= 2 Jan., A.D. 1538).

- (3) A Turkish poem (ff. 37<sup>b</sup>-49<sup>a</sup>) entitled in the table of contents *Tuhfa-i-Muhammad Nasim*. The heading in the text and initial verses are as follows:—

حضرت شیخ وردی رحمہ اللہ شرح ابو البرکات الشیخ محمد  
نسیم جلوتی (خلوتی) حمید قطب العارفین الشیخ عبد الحی  
الاسکداری قدس اللہ سرہ العزیز

بسمله نوریلہ ای ' فالی گلستانہ دن '

جوہر عرفانی صاچ ' لعل بدخشانیہ دن '

حمد خدایلہ کشف ' ایلہ بو اسرارى سن '

رفع نقاب ایلیموب ' بکر عروسانہ دن '

This is dated A.H. 1173 (= A.D. 1759-60).

- (4) A translation of the celebrated *Burda*, or "Mantle-poem," of al-Búṣīrī. Ff. 53<sup>b</sup>-64<sup>b</sup>. No colophon.
- (5) Another treatise on Dreams (ff. 65<sup>b</sup>-72<sup>a</sup>), and the Seven Circles to which they belong, entitled in the Table of Contents *Risāla-i-Yedi Dā'ira* ("The Treatise of the Seven Circles"), beginning:—

حمد اول اللہ کہ جمیع مخلوقات خلق ایتدکدن مگرہ  
مخلوقات امر اوزربنہ اولسونلر ایچون النخ

- (6) The *Tasfiyatu'l-Sulūk* (ff. 72<sup>a</sup>-81<sup>a</sup>), a treatise on religious discipline and exercises.
- (7) *Kitāb-i-Maqāmāt-i-Awliyā* (ff. 81<sup>b</sup>-101<sup>a</sup>), by Muḥammad b. Hamza.
- (8) The *Maqālāt*, or Discourses, of Hājji Bektāsh (written by بکدش) of Khurāsān (ff. 103<sup>b</sup>-107<sup>b</sup>), beginning:—

بلمک گرک کم خلائق درت بلوکت گرودر

- (9) A treatise entitled in the Table of Contents *Maqāmātul-Aqtāb* (ff. 109<sup>b</sup>-126<sup>b</sup>), beginning:—

الحمد لله على نعمائه . . . النخ ' و بعد ' بیلگل که بر عزیز  
رجال الله نقدر وارسه شیخ الشیوخ محبی الدین عربی . . . النخ

Special commendation is bestowed on Shaykh Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn ibnu'l-'Arabī's *Futūḥāt*.

(10) Another tract (ff. 127<sup>a</sup>–132<sup>b</sup>), entitled in the Table of Contents *Dā'ira-i-Rijālu'l-Ghayb*. This is followed (ff. 133<sup>b</sup>–134<sup>a</sup>) by diagrams of talismans, etc.

(11) Another tract, incomplete at end, entitled in the Table of Contents *Asmā'u'l-Husnā* (ff. 135–157), beginning:

الحمد لله الذى أنعم علينا من النعم وعلّمنا من الاسماء ما لم  
نعلم الخ

(40) Or. 544 (*Arabic-Turkish*).

Ff. 36 of 19·1 × 10·11 c.; bought 21, i, 1905. Contents:—

(1) *Mirātu't-Tālibin* (ff. 1<sup>b</sup>–2<sup>b</sup>), by Zaynu'd-Dīn al-Khwāfī, beginning:—

اعلم ايها الطالب ان جناب الحق سبحانه وتعالى اعلى واقدم  
من أن يصل اليه واحد . . . الخ

(2) *Risāla-i-Nuqtatu'l-Bayān* (ff. 3<sup>b</sup>–36), in Turkish, by “*Shaykh-i-Hudrat*,” in 21 sections, beginning:—

سُرْبِیْمَ آيَا تَمَافِ آلاَافِ وَفِ أَنْتَسِیْمَ حَمْسِی تَبِیْنِ لَیْمَ أَنَّهُ الْخُ  
ای طالب اسرار الهی بلکل و آگاد اولغسل که آفاقدد نشانلر وار  
در . . . الخ

(41) Or. 567 (*Turkish*).

A good modern copy, dated Rajab, A.H. 1234 (= April-May, A.D. 1819), of the *Divān* of Nesīmī of Baghdad, beginning:—

دریای محیط جوشه گلدی ‘ کون ایله مکان خروشه گلدی ‘

Bought 14, vii, 1905; ff. 214 of 23·5 × 16·3 c.; scribe, Hājji ‘Alī.

(42) Or. 568 (*Turkish*).

Prose and verse writings of Vīrānī Bābā, followed (f. 55<sup>b</sup>) by the ‘*Uyūnu'l-Hidāya*’ of Rasmī Efendi the Bektāshī.



Ff. 148 of 17·5 × 11·8 c.; bought 14, vii, 1905; transcribed in A.H. 1249 (= A.D. 1833-4) by Darwīsh Muḥammad Amín. Vírání Bábá's work (ff. 1<sup>b</sup>-53<sup>a</sup>) begins:—

ایمدی ای طالب ق حق الحمد لله دن مراد تنگتر تعالی یسی  
اکمقدر . . . الخ

On f. 5<sup>a</sup> Hájji Bektásh is mentioned as:—

سلطان جـهـان سید غازی و خنکار حاجی بکتاشی ولی و روح  
محمد و علی

The 'Uyûnu'l-Hidâya (ff. 55<sup>b</sup>-139<sup>a</sup>) begins:—

الحمد لله الذى جعلنا من أمة جلیله و خلیله محمد المصطفى الخ

(43) OR. 569 (*Turkish*).

The *Bashârat-nâma* of Rafî'î. Ff. 75 of 24 × 16·6 c. and 15 ll.; abundant rubrications; transcribed in A.H. 1268 (= A.D. 1851-2) by Muşţafâ Nadrîf al-'Alâ'î. There is a prose preface (ff. 2<sup>b</sup>-4<sup>b</sup>), which, with the title, begins:—

ویسمی مقدمه الحقائق بالمشارت نامه لرفیعی علیه الرحمة  
والرضوان قال التمی علیه السلام 'بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم'  
فاتحة الكتاب سبع آیات احادیث  
اول سبع المثنائی ای حکیم 'گلدی بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم'

The wholly poetical portion begins on f. 4<sup>b</sup> as follows:—

اولدی یگره سی سکر حرف ای جوان  
'احمد مرسئل کتابی بی گیان  
لام الفله اولدی یگره سی طقوز  
'اولده بر حرف اولدی باشقه شیه نر'

(44) OR. 677 (*Turkish*).

Another copy of the *Diván of 'Arshí-Dedé*, beginning as usual:—

بَاء بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ اَيْلَه قَرَّانَه اَيْتَدَم اَبْتَدَاْ

قَاف وِیَا وَدَالِی قَیْلَدَم حَرْف وَاَحَدَدِه اِدَاْ

Ff. 105 of  $22 \times 15\frac{1}{2}$  c. Transcribed in A.H. 1222 (= A.D. 1807-8) by Darwîsh 'Isá b. Kamálu'd-Dín Khoja of خاك اقدام ووخدين ارکری کسری, who describes himself as حروفی. Bought 17, ii, 1906. On f. 1<sup>a</sup> are scribbled two dates, that of the birth of Faḍlu'llāh the Hurufī (A.H. 740 = A.D. 1339-40), and that of the birth of 'Arshí Dedé (A.H. 970 = A.D. 1562-3).

(45) OR. 702 (*Turkish*).

Another copy of the *'Ishq-nāma* of Firishta-zāda, beginning, like the other manuscript copies described above, with the Index (ff. 1<sup>b</sup>-2<sup>b</sup>), which is followed by the Preface already noticed. Ff. 126 of  $20 \times 14$  c. Transcription ended on Saturday, Sha'bān 1, A.H. 1219 (= Nov. 5, A.D. 1804). Scribe, Sayyid Hāfidh Yaḥyá, of the Shādhili order of darwîshes.

## INDEX OF HURUFÍ WORKS

## REPRESENTED IN THE ABOVE LIST.

*The letters placed after the class-marks indicate whether the MS. in question belongs to the British Museum (B.M.), myself (E.G.B.), the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (B.N.), or the Cambridge University Library (C.U.L.).*

*Ādam-nāma* (Persian). OR. 5959 (B.M.).

*Akḥirat-nāma* (Turkish), by Firishta-zāda. OR. 5961 (B.M.), ff. 34<sup>b</sup>-57<sup>a</sup>; A. 42 (E.G.B.), ff. 8<sup>b</sup>-15<sup>b</sup>; C. 8 (E.G.B.), ff. 73<sup>b</sup>-76<sup>b</sup>.

*'Arsh-nāma* (Pers.). OR. 6293 (B.M.).

*'Arshí-Dedé, Diván of* — (Turk.). OR. 6294 (B.M.); C. 6 (E.G.B.); OR. 40 (C.U.L.); OR. 488 (C.U.L.); OR. 677 (C.U.L.).

*Āsmá-i-Īḥsná*. OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 135-157.

*Bashârat-nâma* of *Rafî'î* (Turk.). A. 43 (E.G.B.), ff. 11<sup>b</sup>–54<sup>a</sup>;  
OR. 569 (C.U.L.).

*Bashârat-nâma-i-İldhî* (Pers.). OR. 6380 (B.M.), ff. 30<sup>a</sup>–62<sup>b</sup>.

*Bayân-i-Aḥwâl-i-Ḥaṣṣr* (Turk.). A. 42 (E.G.B.), ff. 1<sup>b</sup>–4<sup>b</sup>.

*Bektâsh, dar Bayân-i-Silsila-i-Ḥâjji* — (Turk.). C. 8 (E.G.B.),  
ff. 94<sup>b</sup>–95<sup>a</sup>.

*Bektâsh, Mandqib-i-Ḥâjji* — (Turk.). C. 8 (E.G.B.), ff. 38<sup>b</sup>–71<sup>a</sup>.

*Bektâsh, Maqâlat-i-Ḥâjji* — (Turk.). OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 103<sup>b</sup>–  
107<sup>b</sup>.

*Burda, Tarjuma-i-* — (Turk.). OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 53<sup>b</sup>–64<sup>b</sup>.

*Dâ'ira-i-Rijâlul-Ghayb* — (Turk.). OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 127<sup>a</sup>–  
132<sup>b</sup>.

*Diwân.* See under *Arshî*, *Muḥiyyu'd-Din Abdâl*, and *Nesîmî*.

*Faḍilat-nâma* (Turk.). C. 11 (E.G.B.).

*Faḍîlî, Mir* —, *Hurufî tract* by — (Pers.). OR. 6381 (B.M.),  
ff. 4<sup>b</sup>–101<sup>a</sup>.

*Faqr-nâma* (Turk.) of *Vîrânî-Dedé, q.v.* C. 9 (E.G.B.), ff. 17<sup>a</sup>–51<sup>b</sup>.

*Fayḍ-nâma* (Turk.) of *Vîrânî-Dedé, q.v.* C. 9 (E.G.B.), ff. 51<sup>b</sup>–76<sup>a</sup>.

*Ganj-nâma* (Turk.) of *Rafî'î*. A. 43 (E.G.B.), ff. 115<sup>b</sup>–120<sup>a</sup>.

*Ghiyâth, Amir* — or *Mawlânâ*, Poems and *Musajja'* (Pers.).  
A. 41 (E.G.B.), ff. 7<sup>b</sup>–15<sup>b</sup>.

*Ḥaḳîqat-nâma* (Turk.) of *Shaykh Şafî*. OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 1<sup>b</sup>–13<sup>b</sup>.

*Ḥidâyat-nâma* (Pers.). There seem to be two different works  
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(B.M.), ff. 64<sup>b</sup>–103<sup>b</sup>; the other in Turkish with a Persian  
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*Hikmatul-Asrâr*, or *Khuṭbatul-Bayân* (Turkish). A. 41 (E.G.B.),  
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*Ishq-nâma* (Turk.) of *Firishta-zâda*. OR. 5960 (B.M.); A. 69  
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OR. 44 (C.U.L.); OR. 531 (C.U.L.); and OR. 702 (C.U.L.).

*Istiwâ-nâma* (Pers.) of *Amîr Ghiyâthu'd-Dîn Astarâbâdî*. Anc.  
Fonds Pers. 24 (B.N.), ff. 1<sup>b</sup>–59<sup>b</sup>.

*Jâvidân-nâma-i-Kabîr* (Pers. and dialect). OR. 5957 (B.M.).  
Other MSS. at Cambridge (Ee. 1. 27), Leyden, and St. Sophia.  
See my *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Cambridge University  
Library*, p. 69.

*Kanzu'l-Haqá'iq wa Kashfu'd-Daqá'iq* of Shaykh Muḥammad 'Aynu'l-Qudát of Hamadán, translated into Turkish. OR. 530 (C.U.L.), ff. 1-40.

*Kāshifu'l-Asrār wa Dāfi'u'l-Ashrār* (Turk.), by Ishaq Efendi, printed A.H. 1291 (= A.D. 1874-5). A. 49 (E.G.B.).

*Kháyalí*, Poem by — (Pers.). Anc. Fonds Pers. 24 (B.N.), f. 62<sup>a</sup>.

*Khuṭbatu'l-Bayán*. See *Hikmatu'l-Asrār* above.

*Kur'si-náma* (Pers.). OR. 6379 (B.M.).

<i>Lughat-i-Astarábádí.</i>	{	Glossary of dialect words used in the <i>Járidán-náma-i-Kabír</i> , explained in Persian. OR. 5957 (B.M.), ff. 485 <sup>a</sup> -490 <sup>a</sup> ; Anc. Fonds Pers. 24 (B.N.), ff. 62 <sup>b</sup> -80 <sup>b</sup> .
<i>Lughat-i-Járidán-i-Kabír.</i>		

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*Maqámát-i-Aqláb* (Turk.). OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 109<sup>b</sup>-126<sup>b</sup>.

*Maqámát-i-Arliyyá* (Turk.) of Muḥammad b. Ḥamza. OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 81<sup>b</sup>-101<sup>a</sup>.

<i>Miftáh-i-Hurúf-i-Járidán.</i>	{	A key to the contractions used in the <i>Járidán-i-Kabír</i> and other Hurúfí books. OR. 5957* (B.M.); OR. 488 (C.U.L.), ff. 124 <sup>a</sup> -126 <sup>a</sup> ; B. 15 (E.G.B.), ff. 2 <sup>b</sup> -3 <sup>b</sup> .
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*Mithálí*, tract by — (Turk.). OR. 5961 (B.M.), ff. 82<sup>b</sup>-86<sup>b</sup>.

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*Risála-i-Dil u Dáná* (Turk.), by Shaykh Ibráhím Efendi al-Oghláni al-Aq-sar'í. C. 12 (E.G.B.).

*Risála-i-Faḍl-i-Hurúfí* (Pers.). OR. 5958 (B.M.).

*Risála-i-Hurúf*, a treatise on the Letters. C. 8 (E.G.B.), ff. 76<sup>b</sup>-90<sup>b</sup>.

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*Sharif, Sayyid-i* —, *qasida of* —, with commentary (Persian). OR. 62 (C.U.L.).

*Shirâb-nâma* (Pers.) of Sayyid Ishâq. OR. 43 (C.U.L.), ff. 2<sup>b</sup>-31<sup>b</sup>.

*Shuhûdî, Tuhfa and poems of* — (Turk.). A. 43 (E.G.B.), ff. 1<sup>b</sup>-3<sup>b</sup> and 55<sup>b</sup>-76<sup>a</sup>.

*Sirru'l-Mufradât* (Turk.), by Darwish Bâbâ Uways. B. 15 (E.G.B.), ff. 4<sup>a</sup>-5<sup>b</sup>; OR. 42 (C.U.L.).

*Tahqiq-nâma* (Pers.). OR. 6380 (B.M.), ff. 25-28; OR. 43 (C.U.L.), ff. 70<sup>b</sup>-86<sup>a</sup>. These two tracts, however, are not identical, and the proper title is in both cases uncertain.

*Tasfiya-i-Sulûk* (Turk.). OR. 532 (B.M.), ff. 72<sup>a</sup>-81<sup>a</sup>.

*Tirâsh-nâma* (Turk.). C. 9 (E.G.B.), ff. 76<sup>a</sup>-77<sup>a</sup>.

*Tuhfa-i-Muḥammad Nesim* (Turk.). OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 37<sup>b</sup>-49<sup>a</sup>.

*Tuhfa-i-Shuhûdî*. See under *Shuhûdî*, above.

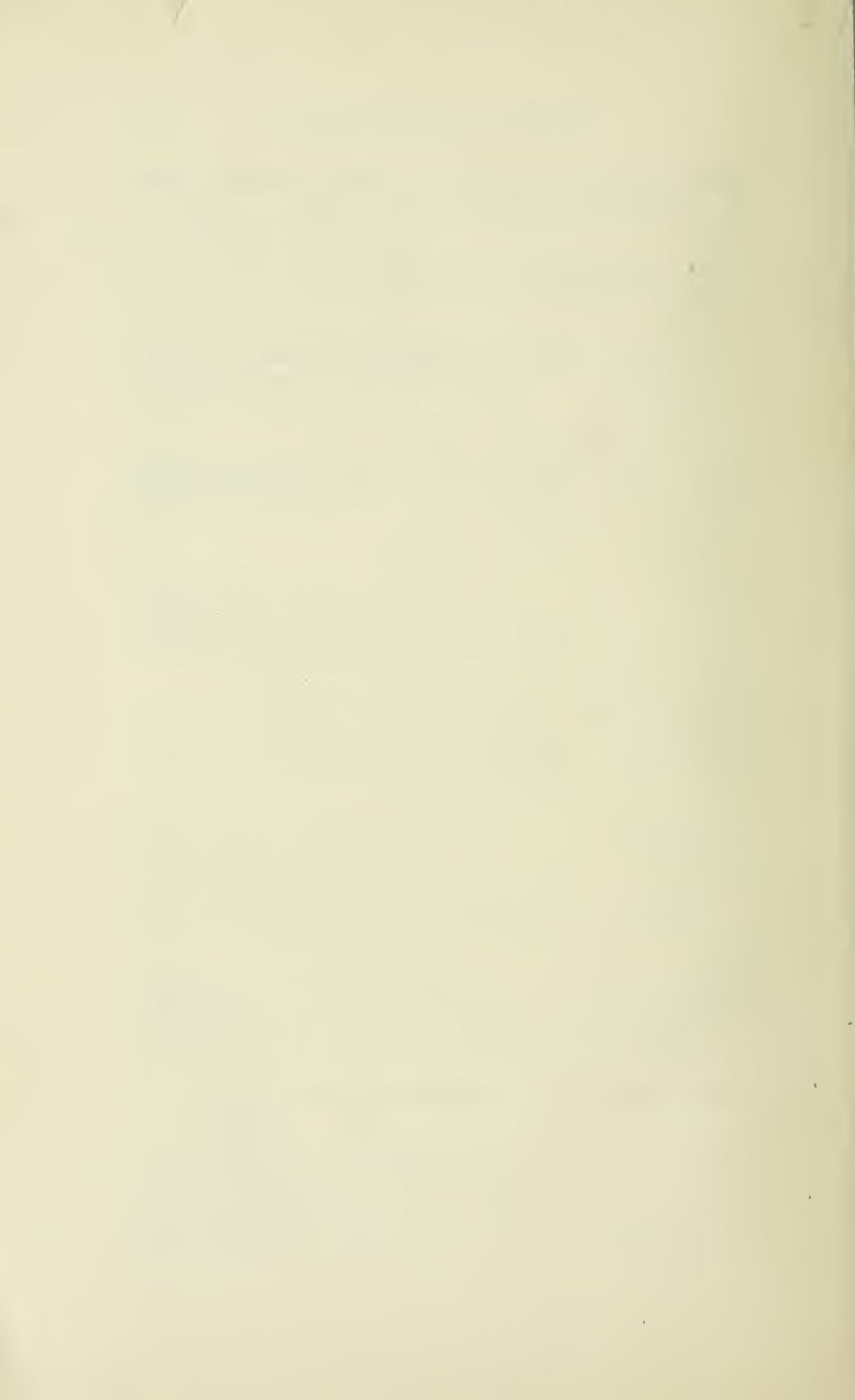
<sup>4</sup>*Uyûnu'l-Hidâya* (Turk.). C. 10 (E.G.B.); OR. 568 (C.U.L.), ff. 55<sup>b</sup>-139<sup>a</sup>.

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